UC-NRLF
$B 319 365

GIFT OF
J. B. Lansfield

SIGILLVM · VNIVERSITATIS · CALIFORNIENSIS
FIAT LVX
MDCCCLXVIII

EX LIBRIS

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/lastdaysofalexan00leerrich

THE

LAST DAYS OF ALEXANDER,

AND THE

FIRST DAYS OF NICHOLAS,

(EMPERORS OF RUSSIA.)

By ROBERT LEE, M.D., F.R.S.,

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS, LONDON.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1854.

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS,
LONDON GAZETTE OFFICE, ST. MARTIN'S LANE

NOV 14 1994
PRESERVATION
COPY ADDED
ORIGINAL TO BE
RETAINED

ADVERTISEMENT

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

The first edition of this Diary being exhausted, and a second being called for, I avail myself of this opportunity to make a few remarks.

There are now sixty millions of slaves in the Russian Empire, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, having the same flesh, blood, and intellect as their masters, who yet enjoy no civil privileges, and from whom a knowledge of the sacred Scriptures is rigidly excluded. In what manner this dark stain upon humanity will be removed no one can foretel, but it is impossible to believe that it is destined to endure much longer. A Bible in the Russian language placed in the hands of every prisoner of war might contribute something to this great work.

From the Emperor, priests, and nobles, there is no hope of any improvement in the condition

of the slaves, but there are events now taking place which seem to indicate and justify a hope that a great internal revolution is impending, and that "the day of redemption" to the Russian slave "draweth nigh." As there is nothing of any real value in the institutions of Russia which could be swept away, there will be little to deplore in any revolution which may occur in that Empire.

ROBERT LEE, M.D.

5th June, 1854.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following pages contain the substance of a Journal which I kept during a residence of two years in Russia. The original MSS. are still in my possession. A few pages of the first portion, "The Last Days of the Emperor Alexander," were published in the "Athenæum" nine years ago.

ROBERT LEE, M.D.

PART I.

THE LAST DAYS

OF

THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

THE LAST DAYS

OF

THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.

On the 5th of November, 1824, I arrived at Cologne, on my way from London to Odessa, to join the family of Count Woronzow, in the capacity of physician to his Excellency. The weather had been very tempestuous during the whole journey from England; and torrents of rain had fallen. The Rhine had overflowed its banks to a greater extent than had ever before been remembered. From the cathedral and spire of the town-house the inundation presented a striking and melancholy spectacle. The whole level country was covered with water; and the river with the wrecks it was floating away. The following day, many miles before reaching

Andernach, the road was inundated by the Rhine, and it was necessary to embark in a boat and be towed up the stream by a number of men on the shore. The rope by which it was dragged against the rapid current frequently became entangled among the chimneys of houses and tops of trees, when suddenly getting loose, the boat ran great risk of being upset, to the extreme danger of the passengers. The night had begun to set in long before this dangerous voyage was completed, and the river was becoming more and more rapid, rushing against our boat with increasing violence. The darkness had increased so much that every object around us had become indistinct and our situation truly perilous; when, the full moon unexpectedly rising above the mountains of the Rhine, our apprehensions of danger were removed and our feelings of anxiety lost in admiration of the magnificence of the scenery around us.

Having reached Coblentz about midnight, I crossed the river with difficulty the following afternoon to Ehrenbreitstein; from whence my journey was continued to Frankfort without interruption. I saw from a hill between Limburg and Wiesbaden, to a distance as far as the eye could reach, the Rhine and the Maine, like two arms of the sea covering the whole of the flat

country; and it was estimated that no less than 50,000 persons were ruined by this extensive inundation. Passing through Wurtzburg and Nuremberg, I reached Ratisbon on the 15th of November. The wind blew and the rain fell without ceasing during the whole of my journey from Frankfort. The Danube had risen as much above its ordinary level as the Rhine, and was rushing with its characteristic impetuosity, fearfully increased at this time, through all the fifteen arches of the old bridge of Ratisbon. It appeared to me surprising that this structure, which had been built seven hundred years before, should be able to withstand the force of such a mighty torrent.

A frightful and disastrous inundation also took place at this time at St. Petersburgh, of which the following description has been furnished me by a medical friend, then residing at St. Petersburgh:—

"The autumnal equinoctial gales most generally prevail at St. Petersburg from the southwest, by which the waters of the Gulf of Finland and Neva are much increased. So it was in 1824; and for some weeks the wind continued from nearly the same quarter. The night of the 18th of November was very stormy; and at daylight of the 19th it blew a hurricane from

WSW, by which the stream of the river—the upper part at least—was reversed, and the waters, running higher than ever remembered, soon caused the lower parts of the city and neighbourhood of the embouchure to be inundated. At nine o'clock in the morning I attempted to cross the Voskresenskoy Bridge of boats, on my way to the General Naval Hospital, on the Wyborside, but was unable owing to the great elevation. I then paid some professional visits; and at eleven called on Prince Narishkin, who had already given orders to remove the furniture from his lower apartments, the water then being above the level of the Fontanka Canal, opposite to his residence. From this time the rise was rapid; and at half-past eleven, when I returned to my house, in the Great Millione, the water was gushing upwards through the gratings of the sewers, filling the streets and court-yards with which every house is provided. A servant took me on his back from the droshky, my horses at that time being above their knees, and conveyed me to the landing of the staircase. The wind now blew in awful gusts; and the noise of the tempest with the cries of the people in the streets was terrific. It was not long ere boats were seen in the streets, with vast quantities of firewood and other articles floating about. As there

was an ascent to my coach-house and stables, the water there attained but to four feet in depth; in most, however, it was necessary to get both horses and cows up to the landing-places of the stairs in order to save them, though the loss of animals was great. Now and then a horse was seen swimming across from one pavement to another, the deepest part of the streets of St. Petersburgh being in the centre. The number of rats drowned on this occasion was inconceivable; and of dogs and cats not a few. The crisis seemed to be from one to three in the afternoon, at which hour the wind having veered round a couple of points to the northward, the waters began to abate; and by four o'clock the tops of the iron-posts, three feet in height, by the sides of the pavement, made their appearance. The reflux of the water was tremendous, causing much damage, and carrying off fire-wood, boards, lumber, and all sorts of rubbish, with various articles of furniture. From the commencement of the inundation the report of the signal cannon, fired first at the Galleyhaven, at the entrance of the river, then at the Admiralty dockyard, and lastly at the fortress, was continued at intervals as a warning to the inhabitants, and added not a little to the horror of the scene. At five o'clock

persons were seen on the pavements carrying lanterns, and the rattling of equipages was heard an hour afterwards. The depth of water in the different parts of the city varied from four to nine and ten feet; but along the border of the Gulf of Finland, and especially in the low suburb of the Galleyhaven before alluded to, the depth was from fourteen to eighteen feet, and many of the small wooden houses built on piles were carried away, inmates and all. A few were floated up the Neva, rocking about with poor creatures clinging on the roof. Some of these perished; others were taken off, at a great risk, by boats from the Admiralty yard, which had been ordered out by the express command of His Imperial Majesty, who stood during the greatest part of the day on the balcony of the Winter Palace, giving the necessary orders. The government ironworks, near the shore of the gulf, and two miles distant, were almost annihilated, and the loss of life was great. This establishment was afterwards removed to the left and elevated bank of the Neva, five versts above the city. Vessels of various kinds, boats, timber, &c. floated over the parapets of the quays on the banks of the Neva and canals, into the streets and squares, and were for the most part afterwards broken up for fuel. As the

lower part of most houses in St. Petersburgh is occupied by shopkeepers and artizans of various descriptions, so these unfortunate people sustained much loss, and until their dwellings were considered to be sufficiently dried by means of stoves, found refuge and maintenance with their neighbours in the upper apartments. A German shoemaker with his family lived below me, and in this way became my guests for the space of eight days. The wind continued providentially to get round to the north during the night of the 19th, and a smart frost taking place on the following morning, rendered the roads and streets extremely slippery, but doing much good by the dryness it produced. On the 20th, the Emperor Alexander, ever benevolent and humane, visited those parts of the city and suburbs most afflicted by this catastrophe; and in person bestowed alms and consolation to the sufferers, for the most part of the lower classes, and in every way afforded such relief, both then and afterwards, as won for him the still greater love and admiration of his people and of the foreign residents in St. Petersburgh. To assist the Emperor's benevolent views, a subscription was entered into, and the British residents came forward, as usual, with their wonted liberality. As nothing official was published as to the actual loss of lives on this melancholy occa-

sion, it is impossible to state otherwise than by report. The authorities were shy on this subject; but from what information I could obtain, twelve or fifteen hundred persons must have perished. Owing to the damp and unwholesome state of the lower parts of the houses and cellars, the mortality during the subsequent winter was nearly doubled, from typhus chiefly, as also from affections of the lungs; and many dated their rheumatic pains and various other maladies to the sufferings they then underwent."

The effects of this calamity were still visible more than a year after, when I visited St. Petersburgh, subsequent to the death of the Emperor Alexander. The red painted lines on the houses still remained to mark the height to which the waters had risen. In the inundation of 1752, the waters of the Neva rose eleven feet; and in that of 1777, the most extensive and destructive that had ever before occurred, they rose fourteen feet above the ordinary level of the river.

The Danube and the surrounding country were covered by a dense fog during my journey from Ratisbon to Vienna, where I arrived on the 21st of November, 1824, and set out for the Russian frontier on the 29th. The same evening I reached Brünn, the capital of Moravia, where I remained till the 2nd of December, the anniversary of the

battle of Austerlitz, which was fought near this town, nineteen years before. Here I met an Austrian cavalry officer, on his way from Italy to Gallicia, who was in the battle and gave a vivid description of it. He said it commenced between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, and was nearly over by mid-day, and that in the very short space of four hours 40,000 men were either killed, wounded, or made prisoners. It was the first battle in which the Emperor Alexander had been present; and from an eminence near the field he saw a great part of his army destroyed and the remainder retreating in confusion upon Austerlitz, pursued by the enemy. His troops fought, I was assured, with the most determined bravery, and that the victory which the French gained was due entirely to the transcendent military genius of Napoleon. In the Castle of Spielberg, above the town of Brünn, Count Gonfalonieri and other nobles of Lombardy were at that time state-prisoners; and I was told that they were fettered with irons and immured in dungeons. I went to the gates of the castle, but the sentinels would not permit me to approach them. Having then recently visited Italy, I was interested in their fate.

I continued my route through Poland by Cracow and Lemberg to Brody, and there entering

Russia, traversed the Ukraine to Odessa, where I arrived on the 8th of January, 1825. The roads were beyond all description miserable, the mud being half frozen. The people in the towns and villages in the most deplorable state of ignorance, filth, and misery. The winter soon set in with great severity; the Black Sea on that coast was frozen and the communication with Constantinople and the Mediterranean entirely cut off. At the end of January a great quantity of snow fell and lay, both on the land and sea, till the commencement of April, when the ice floated away to the south, and vegetation began to appear on the steppe. Odessa, which had no existence half a century before this period, now contained upwards of 36,000 inhabitants, and carried on an extensive commerce with Turkey and the countries in the south of Europe. In the streets of the town were seen Greeks, Jews, Russians, Poles, Germans, French, Americans, and English, in the costumes of their respective nations. The Governor-General, Count Woronzow, was surrounded with military and civil officers, who had either distinguished themselves in the public service, or were eminent for their rank and talents. The dreary and monotonous winter months of Scythia passed quickly and agreeably away in the society of those who had served in the Persian,

Turkish, and French wars; and who had witnessed both the burning of Moscow and the capture of Paris. Society at Odessa seemed as free and unrestrained as in London; and there was nothing apparent to a stranger from which it could at this time be suspected, that a conspiracy existed to destroy the Emperor Alexander and subvert the government of the country. At a public ball, however, a circumstance occurred to me one night, which arrested my attention and excited a suspicion that the affairs of the country were not in so quiet a state as the surface indicated. After conversing for a time with Count de Witt, Prince Serge Volhonsky whispered in my ear, "Take care what you say, he is the Emperor's spy," which afterwards was actually proved to be the case.

I was informed, that at this time an army of 100,000 men was stationed along the Pruth, commanded by General Sebanieff, to whom I was introduced. On Saturday, the 7th March, 1825, in conversing with the Baron Brunow on the present state of Turkey and the probable consequences of the war between the Greeks and Turks, he said a plan had been suggested to him by Monsr. Stourdza, which he thought original and entitled to attention. The Baron Brunow stated it to be as follows: "Considering now the affairs of

Turkey, and as it is a matter of consequence to know what is to become of it, and to prevent all the difficulties which can arise out of that concern, Monsr. Stourdza proposes a plan which he thinks will combine every interest. That plan is, that the provinces which compose now what is called European Turkey, should be divided into three parts. The first composed of the Principalities of Moldavia, Wallachia, and all those countries which surround the Danube, called formerly Bulgaria. The second part composed of those countries near the frontiers of Austria, Servia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia. The third part composed of the Morea, those countries which formed Greece Proper, and all its islands. These three parts should be quite independent States and put under their own governments; governments nearly the same as now. These are merely under the protection of Turkey now, and have constitutions of their own; Moldavia and Wallachia being governed by the Hospodars, and Servia by the Princes of Servia. These three parts to be maintained should be placed under the protection of the three great powers of Europe, viz., the first under the protection of Russia, the second under Austria, and the third under England; but all of them being under the common guarantee of all those countries, that all should be interested in main-

taining the independence of each. Now a particular importance is attached to Constantinople, as it is an intermedium of much of the commerce of Europe, of the Mediterranean, and Black Sea. All the Powers are equally interested in the independence of that important commercial place; and it is proposed that it should be constituted a free city, or *port libre*, similar to the political existence which has been granted to Cracovie according to the treaty of Vienna; like Hamburgh, Frankfort, and other free cities. Constantinople, considered as the centre of the Ecclesiastical power of the Greek Church, must be quite independent. Every one knows that Turkey cannot exist much longer; and that it would be better to prevent all the evils which must arise by such an arrangement, than to abandon it to the ambition of any power, or to make it the cause of a general disturbance in Europe. This is nothing similar to the division of Poland, because it would not be a material division, but a moral one. The protection given to these countries has no other end but that of maintaining and supporting their individual liberty, and their political independence. By this general agreement that large part of Europe would enjoy the liberties the people are entitled to, without giving any jealousy to the

neighbouring powers; and without giving any additional strength to Russia, Austria, and England, the balance of the European powers will be preserved. The Mahometans may remain; but they must not murder Christians and spread the plague over the world."

This is copied verbatim from my diary (1825), and also the following observation:

"At present I do not believe, from the different conversations I have had with Russians here, that their ambition is directed so much to India as to Turkey. Their attention for the present is rivetted upon Turkey, and they consider England as the only power exerting an overwhelming influence against their schemes; and when they can find occasion with safety to themselves, I have no doubt we shall find them our most bitter enemies. That the attention of the Russian Government is also directed to the East is proved by the fact of their now having a number of surveyors employed in preparing maps of all the countries between the Caspian and Aral seas, and also the course of the Oxus.

During the summer I visited Kief, and the greater part of the country extending between the Dnieper and the Dniester, which was at that time suffering from the ravages of locusts. On

the 8th July, 1825, I rode with Baron Franc five versts from Biala Cerkiew to see the locusts. We found upwards of 300 peasants engaged in destroying them. They had dug a ditch across the steppe three miles long, and about two feet in depth. There were millions of these insects upon the ground; they were said to move with peculiar vivacity with the south wind and when the sun was shining, and to travel only during the day. The boys and girls were stationed along the opposite margin to prevent the locusts from crawling up and passing to the other side. In this trench there were deep holes dug, into which the locusts were swept; and slaves were raising them from these with wooden spades into sacks held by others. So many of these measures were required daily from each band of slaves upon the steppes; and from the dull, sluggish, and inert manner in which they were occupied, it did not appear to me that they had a very heavy task to perform. On the 10th July I visited them again; and though vast numbers had been destroyed, myriads remained. Upwards of 400 peasants were now at work. A more wretched, ill-clothed, miserable race, I never saw; lodging in holes in the ground, worse covered than our common vagrants and beggars, and men were behind them with whips which I saw used. I rode back in a

state of melancholy, hoping and praying fervently that the following prediction of the poet might soon be fulfilled:—

> "Where barb'rous hordes on Scythian mountains roam
> Truth, mercy, freedom, yet shall find a home;
> Where'er degraded nature bleeds and pines,
> From Guinea's coast to Sibir's dreary mines,
> Truth shall pervade th' unfathom'd darkness there,
> And light the dreadful features of despair."

The locusts appeared in the Crimea in 1819, and had continued in it until 1823,—that year the crops were completely devoured by them. From thence they spread westward as far as Bessarabia, and to the north upwards of 300 miles from the sea; and in the autumn of 1824, their eggs had had been deposited in the earth, not only in these fertile provinces, but throughout the whole tract of country extending eastward from the Dnieper beyond the Don, to the Caucasus. I had seen their ova during the winter dug out of the earth, when they presented the appearance of clusters of small yellow sacs or bags. In the month of May the young ones began to issue from the ground in myriads, at which time they did not exceed the fifth of an inch in length, and could only crawl along the surface. In a few weeks they had greatly enlarged; and could leap considerable distances, like grasshoppers. By the

end of June they were able to fly a short way; and before the end of July they mounted high into the air and took long flights. At first they were of a blackish hue and their heads were disproportionately large, but afterwards they became of a clear brown colour, with wings of grey or rosy red. In some places they covered the ground completely and were in a state of rest, but in others they were going slowly before the breeze, and resembled at a distance a sheet of gently flowing water. Around Novomirgorod, in travelling from Biala Cerkiew, near Kief, to Odessa, the road was deeply covered with them, and they rose as our carriages approached, with a peculiar rattling noise, and in such numbers that they filled the air like flakes of snow in a storm They swarmed in the streets of Odessa, in the vineyards, and on the surrounding steppe, at the beginning of August, and masses of the dead bodies of those drowned in the sea, covered the shore. There were everywhere two distinct varieties of these insects; one about three inches, and the other half of that length. The first kind was observed to bear a much greater proportion to the other near the sea, than at a remote distance. There was a third variety of a green colour, but it was extremely rare, and in some places wholly wanting. In the neighbourhood of Odessa,

on the steppe, I observed vast numbers of a peculiar species of Sphex, or Ichneumon fly, employed in killing and burying the locusts. The fly insidiously sprung upon the locust, applying its long and powerful legs around the body, so that the victim could not expand its wings and escape. When exhausted with fruitless efforts to fly, the sphex applied the strong nippers with which its mouth is furnished, around the neck of the locust, and thrusting the dart with which it is also provided, between the head and body, in a few seconds deprived the locust of life. This dart I found to consist of two sharp spears, with a small tube between them, but whether connected or not with a poisonous sac was not ascertained. The fly remained for some time attached to the body of the locust after it was dead, probably for the purpose of depositing its ova within it. The sphex afterwards dragged the locust into a small grave it had previously dug in the ground for its reception, and covered it carefully with earth. The ultimate extinction of the locusts here obviously would be effected by this means, if none other were provided by nature for the purpose. The locusts, I was informed some years after, had entirely disappeared from these extensive steppes.

On the 11th of August, 1825, his Excellency Count Woronzow and his suite embarked at Odessa

on board Admiral Greig's yacht, and sailed for the Crimea. The Counts F. Pahlen, Olizar, Potoski, and the Baron de Brunow (afterwards Russian minister in England) were among the number. The following evening we saw the land near Kosloff. At two o'clock on the morning of Sunday the 16th, we were off Sevastopol, in the midst of the Black Sea fleet, consisting of eight ships of the line and three large frigates. We went on board the Admiral's ship, and after examining every part, heard divine service performed in the chapel, where all the sailors who could be spared were present. After this a sham fight took place between the three frigates and the yacht. Admiral Greig then formed his own ship and seven others of the line into close order of battle, with all their sails expanded, and many tremendous broadsides were fired. We afterwards dined with the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Captains of the fleet. We parted from Admiral Greig at sunset and made all sail for Yoursouff, on the south coast. The breeze was favourable, but towards morning it gradually died away, the vessel being about ten miles from the point called Criu Metopon, where the temple of Diana is supposed to have stood in the days of Iphigenia. During the 17th the weather was beautiful, there was not a breath of air, and the sea was like a placid lake. The following

day, when opposite Jalta, the scene suddenly changed, by the occurrence of a violent gale from the east, which drove the vessel back and compelled us to take refuge in a bay near Balaclava. We passed the night at a village called Laspi, belonging to General Poitiers, all the inhabitants of which were suffering from fever and in a wretched condition. On the 19th, taking Tartar horses, we rode through the valley of Baidar and crossed the Ayla mountains, by the passage of Foros, to the south coast; along which we passed eastward by Simeis, Aloupka, Musghor, Derekuy, Nikta, Masandra, and Orianda, to Yoursouff, the seat of Count Woronzow. There are probably no scenes in Europe which surpass in magnificence and beauty those around Aloupka, Massandra, and Orianda. "If there exist on earth a spot which may be described as a terrestrial paradise," says Dr. Clarke, "it is that which intervenes between Kutchukoy and Sudac, on the south coast of the Crimea. Protected by encircling alps from every cold and blighting wind, and only open to those breezes which are wafted across the sea from the south, the inhabitants enjoy every advantage of climate and situation. From the mountains continual streams of crystal water pour down upon the gardens, in which many species of fruit known in the rest of Europe, and many that

are not, attain the highest perfection. Neither unwholesome exhalations, nor chilling winds, nor venomous insects, nor hostile neighbours, infest their blissful territory."

During the month of September, 1825, the whole population of the Crimea between the mountains and the sea, all the inhabitants of "this terrestrial paradise," were in a very sickly condition; and in the villages along the coast between Yoursouff and Simeis, I saw and treated more than a hundred cases of intermittent and remittent fever. Many who had been suffering for months had enlargement of the liver and spleen, with jaundice and dropsy. The weather, during the whole time I remained on the south coast of the Crimea, was delightful; and none of those sudden and violent changes were observed which so frequently occur in all the countries situated along the northern shore of the Black Sea. There could be little doubt that the fever which then prevailed on the coast and in the interior of the Crimea, was produced by noxious exhalations from the earth.

After visiting all the most interesting places in the Crimea, I embarked on board Admiral Greig's yacht at Sevastopol on the 23rd September, and returned to Odessa, with Count F. Pahlen, on the 1st of October. Count Woronzow at the same time set out for Taganrog, to meet the

Emperor Alexander, who had arrived there with the Empress a short time before, with the intention of spending the winter on the shores of the sea of Azoff. Before reaching Odessa, Count Pahlen was seized with severe shivering, headache, and the other characteristic symptoms of bilious remittent fever. The attack was far more violent and dangerous than in any of the cases which had before fallen under my observation; and he narrowly escaped with his life. Mr. Rose, an English gentleman, who had been in the Crimea with us, was also attacked after our return to Odessa, and died from effusion into the brain. The health of a considerable number of those who had been on the south coast of the Crimea at the same time, suffered severely for some months after; and in a few fever appeared in a severe form early the following spring. There was evidence to prove that almost all of us had suffered from malaria.

On the 14th of October, 1825 (o.s.) at Odessa, I received a letter from Count Woronzow at Taganrog, informing me of the Emperor's determination to visit the Crimea, and requesting me to meet him at Bereslaw, on the Dnieper. I accordingly left Odessa in the afternoon of the same day, with General Bashmakoff, Messrs. Marini and Artemieff. We arrived at Nicolaef in the afternoon of the 15th, and remained a few

hours with Admiral Greig, who had just returned from Taganrog. It was a clear, beautiful night, the road was excellent, and we reached Bereslaw the following morning, at seven o'clock, where we remained during the day. This is a large town on the west bank of the Dnieper, which does not differ in appearance from the other towns in the south of Russia. There were many shops or bazaars in it, full of every kind of merchandize. Great numbers of wagons laden with salt from the Crimea, were then passing through; and large bodies of troops marching to join the army on the Turkish frontiers. The country around was extremely fertile, but the locusts had committed great havoc the year before; the peasants and landed proprietors being in a state of the greatest distress. We left Bereslaw in the afternoon, for the isthmus of Perecop, and after passing over an an extensive plain of sand like the Llandes near the Pyrenees, we entered the Crimea and spent the night at the German colony of Nahitchwan. Here all was order, cleanliness, and comfort; the population rapidly increasing, and additional grants of land required. On quitting these intelligent, happy people, the following morning, we were not long in coming among the Nogay Tartars, where all was ignorance, poverty, and wretchedness. Light and darkness, civilization and bar-

barism, were here almost in contact. We remained two nights and a day at Simpheropol, where I had the satisfaction of giving professional aid to the daughter of Count Rostopschin, a name which will be preserved through all ages in the annals of Russia.

On the 20th we left Simpheropol early in the morning, and passing rapidly over the steppe extending between the town and the mountains, crossed these in a caleche, by the new road which had lately been made to connect the shore of the Crimea with the interior. Many of the soldiers employed in completing this arduous work appeared sickly and depressed. Upwards of one hundred out of five hundred had suffered from fever during the autumn; but in none had the disease assumed a dangerous form. No less than a thousand soldiers had been employed in this important work the year before, and comparatively few of them, it was reported, had suffered from the effects of fever. The face of the country had changed since our former visit to the Crimea. The woods along the Salgir and on the Chatyr-Dagh, were stripped of their leaves, though on entering the valley of Alushta the trees were still green. From the Isthmus of Perecop to Yoursouff, where we arrived on the 20th, preparations were being made for the reception of the Emperor·

the roads were being repaired; and all the cottages and houses in the line were being cleaned and whitewashed. The principal Tartar of the village of Yoursouff had been suffering severely from intermittent fever for several weeks, but the fits were speedily arrested by the calomel and sulphate of quinine which I administered to him. This latter remedy, which had never before been employed in the fevers of the Crimea, often stopped their course so quickly, that some of the ignorant Tartars were disposed to attribute the striking effects to supernatural influence.

The following morning we set out for Aloupka. It was like a summer's day in England, the thermometer in the shade being 17° of Reaumur. The tops of the mountains were, however, covered with dense clouds. The road along the sea-shore to Orianda from Yoursouff never appeared to me so beautiful before; and I could not pass Nikita and Masandra, without halting to admire the glorious scenery. The woods had lost a part of their verdure, but there were still many of the trees as green as during the autumn. The wild vine, which climbs to the tops of the highest trees, and the leaves of which were then of a deep red colour, formed a striking feature in the scene. The walnut and fig-trees were still fresh and green. At Aloupka, in the evening, we

walked around the gardens, the most romantic in the Crimea, where preparations were being made for planting forty lemon-trees in the open air, which had been imported the previous year from Italy; and one of them, which had been exposed in the middle of the garden to the intense frost of the preceding winter, was in a flourishing state. We returned to the Tartar house which was prepared for the Emperor. Boards had been placed around the front of it, and whitewashed. The walls of the two chambers for His Majesty's accommodation, had been surrounded with a coarse white linen cloth, and a very neat bed prepared. There were two chairs, a table, and a couch; and newly glazed windows had been put in. In that climate one could not have desired a better habitation for a night, though it was a common Tartar cottage.

We returned to Yoursouff on the 23rd, and on the following day one of the Emperor's couriers arrived, and arranged all the apartments in the house for His Majesty and attendants. On the 25th, the Emperor arrived at Simpheropol. He went to the service in the cathedral the following morning, and he arrived at Yoursouff about four o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by General Diebitch, Sir James Wylie, and a few attendants. When he dismounted from his

horse in front of the house at Yoursouff, Count Woronzow, his aides-de-camp, secretaries, and myself, were standing in a line to receive him.

Though apparently active, and in the prime and vigour of life, the Emperor stooped a little in walking, and seemed rather inclined to corpulency. He was dressed in a blue military surtout, with epaulettes, and had nothing to distinguish him from any general officer. He shook Count Woronzow by the hand, and afterwards warmly saluted him, first on one cheek and then on the other. He afterwards shook hands with us all, and then inquired of me particularly about the health of the Count's children at Biala Cerkiew, whom I had seen not long before. He then inquired if I had visited the south coast of the Crimea during the autumn, and if so, how I was pleased with it. Looking up to the mountains above Yoursouff, and then to the calm sea, upon which the sun was shining, His Majesty exclaimed, "Was there ever such magnificent scenery!" I replied, that the coast of Italy, bebetween Genoa and Nice, presented the only scenery I had ever witnessed that could be compared to it—a part of Italy which His Majesty stated he had never visited.

I set out from Yoursouff on the morning of the 26th of October, before the Emperor, and rode

along the coast to Aloupka. It was a sultry day, and the scenery was rendered still more interesting to me than on all former occasions, in consequence of the Tartars having come from all parts of the Crimea to see the Emperor, on his way from Yoursouff to Aloupka, where he arrived about four o'clock. I was informed that a Tartar female complained to His Majesty, at Orianda, of her having been beaten and ill-treated by the superintendent; when the offender was ordered to appear before His Majesty, he threw himself upon his knees and implored forgiveness. Alexander ordered him to be arrested, and said, with great severity, that it was an eternal disgrace to injure any female, more especially one in her situation, she being pregnant. The Emperor was greatly pleased with Orianda; and immediately determined to purchase the estate from Count Kisseloff and build a palace there. Before coming to Aloupka, he visited the vineyards at Martyan, and the Princess Galitzin at Musghor, distributing liberally to the poor in his way.

Count Woronzow, General Diebitch, Sir James Wylie, and myself, with one or two others, had the honour of dining with the Emperor on this occasion, the last day he was destined to enjoy. The Emperor addressed himself chiefly to Count Woronzow, who was seated next to His Majesty,

and the greater part of the conversation was carried on in French and English. Again his Majesty recurred to the beauties of Orianda, and thanked the Count for the acquisition he had that day made for him. He expressed the strong displeasure he felt at the cruel treatment the poor Tartar woman had received from the superintendent, and ordered that he should be severely punished. The death of Mr. Fondane, the governor of Kertche, from consumption, had occurred not long before, and when this was mentioned the Emperor said, he thought it would be possible to combine the offices of the governors of Kertche and Theodosia, as the government of Taganrog was much more extensive than the two combined. Count Woronzow observed, that there would be a difficulty in effecting this, because a great jealousy existed between the inhabitants of the two towns, which would be increased by the change. The Emperor, on the contrary, thought it might be the means of reconciling them to each other. The Count said that the people of Theodosia would never be reconciled to it: that they would consider themselves placed in a situation inferior to that of Kertche, and that, in his opinion, it was not advisable. The Emperor still urged the practicability of the measure, which he said he had fully considered; and the Count

acquiesced in His Majesty's decision, by admitting that no great harm could result from the experiment. The Emperor then made many inquiries respecting the wealth and respectability of the merchants of Theodosia, to which such answers were given as appeared entirely satisfactory.

There were oysters at dinner, and a small worm was adhering to the shell of one presented to His Majesty. This was shown to Sir James Wylie, who said it was quite common and harmless; and he reminded the Emperor of a circumstance which had occurred to them at the Congress of Verona. A person at Venice had then sent to the Emperor to intreat that he would abstain from the use of oysters, as there was a poisonous marine worm or insect in them. This led the conversation to the insects of the Crimea and Ukraine, of which I had made a considerable collection, and the Emperor inquired of me if there were scorpions, scolopendras, and tarantulas in the Crimea. I said scorpions of large size were not uncommon; and that at Musghor, during our former visit, we found a scorpion of great strength in the apartment where we passed the night, but that it was harmless. Scolopendras of great length I had often seen around Odessa, but not in the Crimea; nor tarantulas, although, as I had been informed, they were not very rare. I heard of no instance

during the autumn in which they had inflicted any injury by their bites or stings. He said, he supposed they were the same as in Italy, and then alluded to the dance for the cure of the bite of the tarantula. Sir James Wylie reminded His Majesty of the scorpion which was found in his bed at Verona, and of the prescription which he had then written for the cure of the bite of the carbonari.

Then followed a long discussion on homœopathy, and the peculiar views of Hahnemann, which were at that time greatly in vogue, not only in Germany, but in Russia. Sir James seemed rather more favourable to these views than I considered justified by the evidence upon which they were founded. He said he believed Hahnemann, with his extremely minute doses of medicines, cured as many patients as regular physicians did by their great ones, because he at the same time enjoined a rigorous diet. Count Woronzow inquired if Sir James would trust to Hahnemann's method of treatment in cases of inflammation of the brain or bowels, or in the fevers of the Crimea. Would the hundredth or the thousandth part of a grain of sulphate of quinine, he asked, stop the fits of one of these fevers? He appealed to me to support the truth of what he said, and I had no hesitation in affirm-

ing that large doses of quinine often almost instantaneously arrested these fevers, when small doses proved ineffectual.

Again the Emperor expressed how much he was pleased with Orianda, and stated that it was his determination to have a palace built there as expeditiously as possible. To my amazement he said, after a pause, "When I give in my demission, I will return and fix myself at Orianda, and wear the costume of the Taurida." Not a word was uttered when this extraordinary resolution was announced, and I thought that I must have misunderstood the Emperor, but this could not be, for in a short time, when Count Woronzow proposed that the large open flat space of ground to the westward of Orianda should be converted into pleasure grounds for His Majesty, he replied: "I wish this to be purchased for General Diebitch, as it is right that the chief of my état-major and I should be neighbours." During dinner there was also some conversation respecting the chapel which was about to be built at Masandra, and the Emperor inquired whether or not it was to be a Greek chapel. A petition had been presented for a Lutheran place of worship to be established at Nikita, and likewise that at Simpheropol the old Greek church should be converted into a Lutheran chapel,

after the cathedral was finished. The Emperor said he was ignorant of the law upon this point, but that the Bishop would inform him whether it was contrary to law to permit a Greek church, when not required for the national religion, to be converted into a Lutheran chapel. If it was not, it ought to be granted, he said; and I have no doubt that the Emperor's visit to the Monastery of St. George on the following day had some reference to this subject. General Diebitch enquired if there were many Lutherans in the Crimea, and particularly at Simpheropol; to which Count Woronzow replied, that if they had been numerous they would ere this have had a chapel of their own. A petition had also been presented by some Roman Catholics at Karasubazar for a piece of ground to build a Catholic chapel. The Emperor expressed his anxiety that all these petitions should receive due attention and be granted to the fullest possible extent. It appeared, from what was stated on this occasion, that the administration of the empire was conducted by Alexander on the true principles of religious toleration.

His Majesty made a frugal repast, and drank little wine. When champagne was presented, Count Woronzow said, "Sire, may we be permitted to drink to the health of Her Majesty the

Empress?" He replied "Most certainly;" and all immediately rising, did honour to the toast. On retiring, His Majesty returned thanks to Count Woronzow for the excellent entertainment he had provided; and, addressing himself to us all, said with kindness and condescension, "Your presence on this occasion has afforded me the greatest satisfaction." He then walked out and mounted the steps to the flat roof of the house, around which a number of Tartars were collected. He looked at the groups through his eyeglass, and observed, "What handsome Oriental countenances! What a fine race of men! One of the most striking peculiarities of the Crimea would be lost, if the Tartars were expelled: I hope they will be encouraged to continue here." An Effendi was introduced to His Majesty to present a petition, which he did by bending down and raising his hands to his head, without removing his turban from it.

The Emperor retired to rest early in the evening. In the middle of the night a courier arrived, upon which he arose and transacted business. General Diebitch, who slept in a house close to that in which I was, was twice summoned in the night to wait upon His Majesty. I was afterwards informed that the despatches brought by the courier were of the highest public impor-

tance; in fact, that they fully revealed to His Majesty the existence of a dangerous and extensive conspiracy, of which he had not been previously fully aware.

On the morning of the 27th, after breakfast, the Emperor sent a message to say that he desired me to accompany him round the lower garden. After some conversation respecting the illness of the Empress and the proposal that I should visit Her Majesty professionally at Taganrog, he again called my attention to the magnificence of the scenery around us, and expressed the pleasure he had derived from this visit to the Crimea, and the hope he entertained that at no very remote period its shores would be full of rich vineyards, and contain many flourishing villages and towns. I hinted, in the most delicate manner I could, that the frequent occurrence of violent fevers to those who visited the Crimea and to its constant inhabitants, was the only circumstance which appeared to me likely to prevent His Majesty's anticipations being completely realized. He expressed a strong wish that I should remain in Russia, permanently attached to Count Woronzow, the value of whose public services he appeared justly to appreciate.

At mid-day the Emperor and his attendants were on horseback, and, after shaking hands with

and taking an affectionate leave of all, he set out for Sevastopol. In a few days I returned with Count Woronzow to Odessa, by Perecop, Bereslaw, and Nicolaef, where we remained till the 22nd of November, 1825.

At eight o'clock on Sunday morning, the 22nd of November, Count Woronzow expressed a wish to see me in his library. On going there, the Count stated that he had received bad news from Taganrog—that the Emperor was dangerously ill; and that I must set out with him, in two hours, to render my assistance with the other physicians. It appeared, from a letter of the 7th instant that the Emperor had been attacked with symptoms of slight catarrh soon after leaving the Crimea, and that at Oriekoft these had assumed the decided form of remittent fever; that it had increased in severity; and that His Majesty refused to take any medicine. Another letter, of the 14th, stated that he was much worse; indeed in great danger: and that still he refused to submit to any medical treatment. A third letter, dated Thursday, the 19th, had also been received, from which it appeared that the malady had been daily growing worse, and that almost all hope of his recovery was past.

The Count was much afflicted when he communicated this intelligence; and expressed his fear that

we should find all over before we reached Taganrog. We started from Odessa at mid-day; and when our carriage was going slowly over the deep sands by the sea-shore, the Count said that unpleasant occurrences seldom came alone; that a letter had arrived that morning from London, informing him of an accident which had endangered the life of his father; also that William Findley, who had been his father's coachman for upwards of thirty years, had been thrown from his box, and killed on the spot. "I knew William Findley well," he added, bursting into tears; "and feel how much my father must have suffered on the occasion."

We continued our journey to Nicolaef, where we arrived at midnight. The Count retired to rest for two hours, but I did not; being anxious to learn from Admiral Greig what consequences would be likely to result in the event of the Emperor's death, and the accession of his brother Constantine to the throne. We were, of course unacquainted with the fact that in 1822 the Grand Duke Constantine had voluntarily waived his title to the succession, and that the next in the line after him should take his place. Admiral Greig requested me to write to him immediately after my arrival at Taganrog, which I did; and communicated all the informa-

tion I could obtain respecting His Imperial Majesty's illness and death.

We reached Cherson at seven o'clock in the morning. There had been a hard frost during the night. The town was evidently in a state of decay; and many of the houses were roofless. During the previous winter the forage in the Crimea and country extending along the northern coast of the Black Sea was exhausted before the spring; and the crops having been destroyed by the locusts and a drought, the people had actually been compelled in some places to employ the straw thatching of their cottages to feed their cattle. I had previously been informed that the commerce of the place was ruined; that the rise of Odessa had in fact been the fall of Cherson. The Dnieper is here as broad as the Danube above Vienna, or the Rhone near the Mediterranean. At a short distance from the gate of the town we saw an obelisk, which had been erected by the Emperor Alexander to the memory of John Howard, who died of fever, near Cherson, on the 20th of January, 1790, and was buried in the open steppe, at a short distance from the town. It was his request that a sun-dial should be erected over his grave: and Admiral Greig informed me that this wish had recently been

complied with; and through the Admiral's exertions chiefly, as I learned from others. There is another Englishman buried by him.

We arrived at Bereslaw at two o'clock in the afternoon of the 23rd and crossed the Dnieper on a raft, the floating bridge having been removed. In the morning of the 24th, we reached Oriekoff, which is on the high road between Taganrog and Warsaw, where the Grand Duke Constantine then was. The postmaster of this place stated that no account had been received of the Emperor's death; but he must have wished to conceal the fact, for at the next post station we were at once informed that the news of his decease had been received two days before.

On Wednesday, the 25th, at seven in the morning, we arrived at Marienpole, a small town on the Sea of Azoff, inhabited by Greeks, who had emigrated from the Crimea forty years before. We remained an hour at the residence of a military officer of rank, who gave me a general account of the Emperor's illness. He informed me that bilious fevers were very common in autumn along the whole northern coast of the sea of Azoff. From Marienpole to Taganrog the country presented a most dreary aspect, and the post-houses and horses were truly wretched. We crossed a small river, and, entering Taganrog at eight o'clock in the evening, were immediately

conducted by the governor of the town to the house of one of the most respectable merchants. Here we learned that His Majesty died on the 19th of November; and that he had been insensible, and deprived of the power of swallowing two days before his decease.

On Thursday, the 26th of November, I went to see His Imperial Majesty lying in state in the house where he had lived and died. I did not see the face of the Emperor, but I was informed that it was already completely changed and had become quite black. The coffin was placed upon a slightly-elevated platform, and covered by a canopy. The room was hung with black; and the coffin covered with a cloth of gold. There were numerous large wax lights burning in the apartment, and each individual present held a lighted slender wax-taper. A priest was standing at the head of the coffin reading the Evangelists; and I was told that this was carried on day and night. On each side of the body a sentinel was placed with a drawn sword. In the ante-room were a number of priests putting on their robes and preparing for the service or mass, which was celebrated twice every day. There were no symptoms of melancholy in this crowded room, and some young military officers even displayed a degree of levity altogether unsuitable to the solemnity of the scene. The

Empress, I was informed, remained constantly in an apartment, the door of which opened into that where the body of the Emperor was lying, and where the service was performed. Guards were stationed around the house, at the door, as also on the stairs, and in the ante-room.

On the evening of Friday, the 27th of November, I proceeded, at the request of Count Woronzow, to the residence of Sir James Wylie, for many years physician to the person of His Imperial Majesty, for the purpose of obtaining an account of the Emperor's illness, and the treatment which would have been pursued, had not His Majesty strenuously refused all medical assistance. Sir James read to me the whole of the reports of His Majesty's case, written down by him from day to day, and which contained the fullest and most satisfactory explanation of all the attendant circumstances. These reports were also signed by the other physicians, who coincided in the views entertained by Sir James respecting the nature and proposed treatment of the disease. As these reports were about to be forwarded to St. Petersburgh for the satisfaction of the Government, I could not procure a perfect copy, but the following are the most important facts they contained, and were noted down by me in short-hand as I heard them. Dr. Reinhold, surgeon to the

Empress, who had remained with the Emperor during the night of the 12th of November, came in when Sir James Wylie was thus occupied, and declared to me in the most unequivocal manner, that he was entirely of the same opinion with the other physicians respecting the nature of the disease, and of the means that would have been employed.

The weather suddenly changed on the day the Emperor left Aloupka, the 27th of October. A thick mass of clouds covered the mountains in the afternoon, the east wind was cold, and a shower of rain fell. The previous day had been intensely hot on the coast, and at the time the Emperor was riding from Yoursouff to Aloupka. His Majesty was accustomed to travel in an open calèche with a light military cloak, trusting solely to the vigour of his constitution against the sudden changes of the atmosphere. After quitting Aloupka, he went to that part of the road where the ascent of the Merdveen commences, and hesitated for some time whether to proceed by this difficult pass, over the mountains, which are between three and four thousand feet high, into the valley of Baidar, or by that of Foros. After a little delay he decided for the former, and arrived at Baidar fatigued, perspiring and unusually irritable on account of the unruliness of his horse.

At Baidar, a calèche awaited him, but no refreshment was prepared—his maître d'hôtel having gone on to Sevastopol. From Baidar he proceeded to Balaclava, and reviewed Colonel Ravilotti's regiment of Greek guards. The Emperor again entered his calèche, and drove to that part where the road turns off to the monastery of St. George. Here he mounted a horse and rode to the monastery alone, a distance of at least ten versts. Sir James had gone forward before him to Sevastopol; but the Emperor did not arrive there until it was quite dark, having remained upwards of two hours at the monastery, where was a bishop and several priests. He entered Sevastopol by torchlight; and before going to the house prepared, went to the church, and afterwards reviewed some troops drawn up in a line along the street through which he passed. His Majesty dined alone, and it was said scarcely tasted anything. The following day, at twelve o'clock, he examined the barracks, hospital, and forts, and then set out for Bacheserai. On the journey he was observed to be asleep in the carriage. At Bacheserai the Emperor also dined alone, and the following morning he informed Sir James Wylie that he had suffered from an attack of bilious diarrhœa in the night, but that he was then perfectly well. Thus, he said, will all my

complaints pass away without the help of medicine. Sir James did not state to me the circumstances which led the Emperor to believe that medical treatment was of no avail in arresting the progress of disease, and to determine him not to have recourse to its aid. There could be no doubt that the Emperor had some peculiar views about the doctrine of predestination, but whether his scepticism respecting the efficacy of medicine originated in these opinions, I could not ascertain.

His Majesty that day went to Chufut Kali, and returned in the afternoon to Bacheserai to meet the Tartar chiefs. Next day he went to Kosloff, and on arriving there Sir James observed that they had passed some marshes which emitted a most disagreeable odour. The following night he slept near Perecop, and on the next between the Isthmus and Oriekoff. At this place he was observed by his valet-de-chambre to be ill; but His Majesty did not inform Sir James of the circumstance, and the latter saw nothing unusual in the appearance of the Emperor the next morning during their visit to an hospital close by this village. But the valet afterwards stated that His Majesty had been very ill in the night, and enquired if Sir James did not observe how pale he was. In the carriage with General Diebitch on the road to Marienpol,

the Emperor was attacked with violent shiverings, and on arriving there, had a strong and distinct paroxysm of fever. A warm bed was prepared for him, and he took some hot punch. As the place they were in was of a wretched description, Sir James recommended him to push forward to Taganrog on the following day, and there to take the proper remedies. They reached Taganrog on the 5th of November, O.S. On the two following days, the Emperor suffered severely from derangement of the liver and digestive organs, and experienced severe paroxysms of fever. It was evident that he was severely attacked with the bilious remittent fever of the Crimea; but at this time there was no headache or any other symptom of the brain being affected. Four grains of calomel were given and some purgative medicine, with great but temporary relief of the febrile symptoms, yet His Majesty would not consent to a repetition of these remedies, or to the adoption of any other means. On the 8th, the fever continued with undiminished violence, and as the Emperor positively refused to avail himself of the aid of medicine, Sir James requested that Dr. Stofregen, physician to the Empress, should be called into consultation. His head had now become burning hot, and a marked change was perceptible in His Majesty's

countenance. When Dr. Stofregen was introduced, he said, "I am distressed to see your Majesty suffering in this manner." "Say nothing of my indisposition," replied the Emperor, "but tell me how the Empress is." After being satisfied on this point, His Majesty told Dr. Stofregen that Sir James Wylie considered him in a dangerous state, but he added, "I feel that I am not seriously ill, and that I shall recover without the employment of medical aid."

It was the opinion of the physicians, that the Emperor should have been bled at this time, and that calomel and cathartics should have been freely administered; and this opinion they gave to the Emperor in a decided manner, but he would not consent to the employment of any remedies. The paroxysms of fever recurred, but there were occasional remissions when the pulse came down to the natural state; once to 71 and repeatedly to 90, but it was at all times during the progress of the disease extremely small and feeble.

On the 13th of the month, and tenth day of the disease, it was again proposed to take blood from the Emperor, but he would not submit. On the morning of the 14th, Sir James and the other medical attendants again urged him to the same purport, but he refused, even to the application of leeches to the head. He rejected this proposal

with the greatest impatience and obstinacy. The Empress on her knees implored him to consent, but he would not. "At first," he said, "I had only an intermittent fever, and now it has been converted into a continued fever, and I will trust rather to my constitution than to the means recommended." As it was now obvious that his life was in imminent danger, and that he was becoming worse and worse, Sir James proposed, late in the evening, that a priest should be brought to him. Sir James was again desired by the Empress to endeavour to convince His Majesty that his life was in the greatest danger, and that as he would not submit to medical treatment, he should think seriously, so long as he retained consciousness, of employing spiritual aid. On the morning of the 15th, at five o'clock, he was confessed by the priest; and he requested that in this religious act he should be confessed as a simple individual. When this was finished, the priest strongly urged His Majesty to employ medical aid, saying that, unless he did so, he would not fulfil the whole of his Christian duty. Between nine and ten o'clock he consented, for the first time, to the application of leeches to the temples. The brain had now become affected, and he was occasionally delirious, and uttered incoherent expressions. For thirty hours before

his death, the Empress hardly quitted his bed-side. The scene was most affecting when the Emperor, on the 19th, expired. The Empress had been kneeling by his bed-side, with her eyes fixed upon him, as he gradually became weaker and weaker, until all signs of life were gone. Then, rising, she closed his eyes, and with a handkerchief bound up his head, to support the lower jaw. After this, she folded his arms over his breast, kissed his hand, and then knelt down by the side of the dead body for half an hour in prayer to God. Throughout the whole of His Majesty's illness, she manifested the strongest attachment to her husband; and at his death was inconsolable.

On the *post-mortem* examination of the body being made, the appearances observed were such as are most frequently met with in those dying from bilious remittent fever, with internal congestion. Two ounces of serous fluid were found in the ventricles of the brain; and all the veins and arteries were gorged with blood. There was an old adhesion between the *dura* and *pia mater* at the back part, but of no great extent. The heart and lungs were sound, but too vascular. The liver was turgid with blood, and of a much darker colour than natural. The spleen was enlarged, and softened in texture.

The prevalence of fever in the Crimea during the autumn, the sudden change of the weather when the Emperor left the coast, the usual symptoms appearing in the course of a few days after quitting Perecop, as I had before observed in others, with the subsequent history of the disease, and the appearances after death, rendered it certain that the Emperor Alexander was cut off by the bilious remittent fever of the Crimea.

During the six weeks I remained at Taganrog after the Emperor's death, I never heard that any one entertained a doubt, or expressed a suspicion, that His Majesty's death was attributable to any other than a natural cause. The physicians who had the care of His Majesty were accused by some, without the slightest ground, of mismanaging the case; and I heard the question repeatedly put, "Why did they not compel His Majesty to submit to their plan of treatment?" or, in other words, as Sir James Wylie expressed it, why did they not commit the crime of *lèse-Majesté?*—a proceeding which no circumstances could ever justify.

I enjoyed the best opportunities in the Crimea of observing the devoted attachment of Sir James Wylie to the Emperor Alexander, whom he had accompanied in all his campaigns; and I conscientiously believe, that on this trying occasion Sir

James Wylie discharged his arduous professional duty in a manner worthy of his high reputation.

Taganrog, 26th November, O.S. 1825.—This town contains eight or nine thousand inhabitants, and has rather an agreeable appearance. The streets are wide and clean: the trottoirs high, and paved with hard stones brought from the sea-shore: lamps at considerable distances. There is one long broad street, and others going off from this at right angles. There are many good houses; though I am assured few persons possessed of much wealth are settled here. The town covers a large space of ground, like Odessa and all the towns and villages in Russia. Each house has a courtyard, around which there are a number of small houses for the lowest class of people. This court usually presents a scene of filth and confusion which baffles all description; it is only surpassed by some of the trackteers in Poland. Here are seen standing a number of old droshkies, caléches, carts, and barrels upon wheels for bringing water, all up to the axletrees in mud, and exposed to the general influence of this rude climate. Before the Emperor came here I was informed that the town was as dirty and neglected as any town in Russia. A law was then passed by the Town Council, imposing a tax of thirty kopecks upon each cart which goes with

corn or any kind of commodity to the port, or in lieu of this the cart must return loaded with stones from the sea-shore for the streets. This law has had the effect of rendering the streets very good—much superior to those of Odessa. The variety of different nations here is still greater than at Odessa; but the season is too cold for them to come out into the streets to be seen. All the ladies are in mourning. The Sea of Azoff is not navigable after the beginning of October: two years ago all the vessels were frozen up in this month. The taxes upon foreign merchandize are bitterly complained of, amounting at least to four per cent. upon the capital. Many of the houses are built of brick, but the greater part of wood. There are three handsome churches; one called St. Alexander Newski, where the body of the Emperor will lie in state after it is removed from the house in which he died, until such time as the preparations are completed for transporting it to St. Petersburgh, which will not be for three or four weeks. The commerce here is considerable; yet all the merchants complain that they are ruined. Two hundred ships entered the port this year. There is a theatre for the Russians and Poles, and one for the Greeks also, both miserable: a new theatre was to have been built, but it will be given up now. The

town stands on a promontory, from which the mountains of the Caucasus are visible. To the east is a fine bay; and about sixty versts distant is the mouth of the Don. The sea is so shallow that vessels are obliged to lie off at a distance of several versts. At the extremity of this point of land on which the town stands is a harbour of considerable extent, but it is nearly choked up and it is doubtful whether or not it can be cleared. Admiral Greig was desired by the late Emperor to examine it and to decide whether it could not be opened by means of the steam-engine. It is formed of a great wall of earth. Between the present town and the harbour are immense mounds of earth, the remains of an extensive fortification, built by Peter the Great, which must have been a laborious and expensive work, and are now in absolute ruin.

The following meteorological observations were taken at the Taganrog Gymnasium in the years 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823, and 1824.

1817.—The greatest height of the barometer 7th September, was 30° 38″; the lowest depression was 29 English inches, 14th December at 10 P.M.; therefore the greatest difference between the greatest height and lowest depression the medium is 29·71′. The greatest heat was 26° R., on the 18th July at 2 P.M. The greatest

cold was 18° 5′ R., on the 22nd December at midnight. During this year there were 82 days during which the mercury remained below zero, R.; and 283 days during which it was above zero. There were 25 windy and stormy days (62 windy); 199 common weather, during which blew light and gentle breezes and during which 72 days quite calm; 69 clear days; half-clouds and half-sunshine 124; quite cloudy 140, during which 32 were foggy. Rain fell during 100 days in the year; snow during 16 days. The last snow the 6th March; the first 23rd October. Thunder and lightning 19 times in the year. The sea frozen over the 22nd December, and the first ship arrived the 19th March.

1818.—Barometer greatest height was 30·46′; lowest 28·92′; medium 29·69′. Greatest heat 27° R., 12th August 3 P.M.; greatest cold 20½° R., February 5, which continued all that day: difference 47½° between the greatest heat and cold range of the thermometer. 78 days mercury below zero. Stormy and very windy days 57; common windy days 54; and 198 days with light breezes, 56 of which calm. 87 clear days; 140 half cloudy and clear; 138 quite cloudy; 22 foggy; 51 rainy days; 22 snow fell. 19 times thunder-storms. Sea covered with ice 31st October, and the first ship arrived the 7th March.

1819. — Barometer greatest range 30° 99′; lowest 29° 11′; medium 30° 5′. Greatest heat 28° R., 1st August mid-day; greatest cold 19° R., 13th February at midnight: difference 47°. 101 days mercury below the freezing-point. First frost 5th October; last frost 13th March. Stormy 68 and very windy; common windy 66; 160 common, of which 71 quite calm; 88 sunshine; 158 half cloudy and clear; 119 cloudy; 34 of these foggy. Rain fell during 46 days; snow during 16. Last snow 28th March; the first 25th October. 15 thunder-storms. The first ship arrived 11th April. Vegetation commenced 20th April.

1820. — Barometer greatest height 30° 82′; lowest 29°; medium 29° 91′. Greatest heat 26°, 14th July 9 A.M.; greatest cold 20½° R., the 26th January 10 P.M.; range of thermometer 36½°. 90 days mercury below zero. First frost 24th October (1819); last frost 21st March (1820). 33 days very stormy and windy; 50 windy; 232 common dull light wind; 50 calm; 74 clear; 185 mixed; 100 cloudy, of which 27 foggy. 53 days rain fell; 19 snow fell. Last snow 18th March; first 17th November. 15 thunder-storms. Sea covered with ice 26th November. The first ship 7th April. Vegetation began 16th April.

1821.—Barometer 30° 57′; lowest 29° 18′; medium 29° 87′. Greatest heat 27° R., the 25th June 8 A.M,; greatest cold 15½°, 23rd February 7 A.M. Range of thermometer 42½°. 70 days below zero. First frost 30th September, 1820; the last 8th March. 29 days very stormy and windy; 48 windy; 228 common, of which 61 were calm; 73 clear; 225 mixed; 67 quite cloudy, of which 22 foggy; 50 rain fell; 10 snow fell. Last snow 3rd March; first 31st October. 15 thunderstorms. Sea covered with ice 1st November. First ship first days of April. Vegetation 8th April.

1822. — Barometer 33° 38′ height; lowest 29° 10′; medium 29° 74′. Greatest heat 25° R., the 22nd June at 2 P.M.; greatest cold 21¼° R., 31st December midnight. Range of thermometer 46¼°. 83 days below the freezing point, not the whole days but some part of the twenty-four hours; 37 stormy and very windy; 90 windy; 102 common, of which 50 calm; 21 clear; 266 mixed; 80 very cloudy, of which 18 foggy; 48 rain fell; 13 snow and metel. Last snow 26th March; first 2nd November. 13 thunderstorms. Sea frozen 1st November. First ships 12th April.

1823.—Barometer 30° 33′; lowest 29° 21′; medium 29° 77′. Greatest heat 28° R., the

1st August mid-day; greatest cold 19½°, January 1st at 8 A.M. Range of thermometer 47½°. 104 days mercury below zero. Last frost, spring 1823, in April; first frost 12th October, 1822. 6 days stormy and very windy; 82 windy; 199 ordinary, 78 of these calm; 51 clear; 203 mixed; 14 quite cloudy, of which 23 foggy; 11 rain fell; 6 snow. The last snow 5th March; first the 13th October. 7 thunder-storms. First ships 2nd April.

1824. — Barometer greatest height 30° 18′ lowest 29°; medium 29° 99′. Greatest heat, 25th July, was 28½° R.; greatest cold, 12th February, 10½° R. Range 39°. 57 days thermometer below zero. Last frost, 13th March; first the 13th of October. 23 days storm and very windy; 104 windy; 223 ordinary; 26 calm; 37 clear; 243 mixed; 86 cloudy, of which 13 foggy; 37 days rain fell; 13 snow. The last snow 13th March; the first the 8th December. 12 thunder-storms. Sea frozen over. First ship 2nd April. Apricots bloomed 2nd April.

From these observations at Taganrog, a correct general opinion may be formed of the climate of all the Russian provinces along the northern shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoff, taking into account the effects of latitude and longitude, extending between the Danube and the Don, the ancient Scythia of Herodotus.

At Biala Cerkiew, near Kief, on the west side of the Dnieper, 545 versts north from Odessa, I made the following observations: 1825, March 21st, deep snow and hard frost, 10° R.; 22nd, 13° R.; 23rd, 10° R.; 24th, 10°; 25th, 10° R.; 27th, 3°, snow disappearing; 28th, frost, storms of snow; 31st, thaw. 1st April, 1825, severe frost in the night; 2nd, fall of snow 7°; 3rd, freezing all the day; 5th, snow; 7th, thaw; 8th, rain; 9th, frost and snow; 20th, slight frost, clear fine day; 11th, frost in the night, beautiful clear weather, 10° R; spring, ice floating down the river Ross; 12th, snow almost gone; 13th, spring, 12° heat R.; vegetation commencing. All sign of winter gone except a few patches of snow on the steppes; 14th, a sudden change in the night. In the morning a cold north wind with snow. The thermometer fell at 10 A.M. to the freezing point. Yesterday afternoon it was at 14° R. heat. This is the most sudden change of atmospheric temperature I have ever witnessed. 17th, 8° R., wind and rain; 18th, frost in the night; 19th, 1°, frosty fine day; 20th, 1½° R; 21st, ground covered with snow; 22nd, snow gone; 23rd, 3° R.; 24th, frost; 26th, rain and wind; 27th, a beautiful day, warm, vegetation advancing rapidly; 4th, summer, 17° R.; 9th, 17° R.; 13th, rain; 16th, rain and cold weather;

21st, cold winds and rainy weather; 22nd, 1° of heat only this morning at 8 o'clock; 23rd, cold wind; 25th, 19° R.; 27th, 28° R. during the day, 8° in the night; 28th, went from the town-residence at Biala Cerkiew to Alexandria, about four versts distant. The gardens most beautiful; 29th, a fête on the green, the Cossac dance. June 2nd, thermometer at zero in the night. A great fall of hail at Berdichief, not very far distant; 7th, warm weather, gnats and mosquitoes in the night, serpents in the pavilions; 9th, 21° R., SE.W., heat not oppressive, slight thunder-storm; 15th, 23° R.; at 11 o'clock fell in half an hour 7°, slight thunder-storm; 16th, 6° R., a difference nearly of 38° of Fahr. in 24 hours; 18th, cold rainy day. On the 14th July, 1826, thermometer 21° R., thunder-storms; 15th, oppressive heat, severe thunder, 21° R.; 26th July, violent thunder storm which cooled the air, 22° R. In the evening a high wind, thermometer 14° in the night. August 2nd, high wind, thermometer in the morning 13° R.; 4th, thermometer 12°. September 10th, this morning thermometer fell to 3½° R. Last night there was a great fall of rain with a strong NE.W. Every thing now bears the appearance of an early winter; 15th, ground covered with hoar-frost.

27th November, Taganrog. Mr. Hare informed

me that the Emperor, while there, rose early, and that he slept upon a straw paliasse, with a small hard pillow of leather; that he breakfasted upon green tea and a small bit of bread. He then walked out and noticed all who came in his way. He was frequently up to the knees in mud. The Emperor took a great pleasure in superintending the workmen who were employed in making the public garden, which he had ordered to be formed here. He dined at 2 P.M. and did not appear again on foot, but sometimes afterwards with the Empress in a droshky. All his attachés were unwilling to come to this place, but His Majesty, during a former visit, had taken a fancy to the town, and he seemed to feel a kind of gratification when the weather was fine, or anything else occurred to justify the choice he had made. At the public ball given, he danced with several of the ladies, and remained at least an hour and a half looking at the dances. He was fond of the Polonaise and Scotch dances, and requested that they should be exhibited before him.

2nd Dec.—I dined with Mr. Hare, one of the most respectable merchants at Taganrog, where I met Mr. Gray, an Englishman, who had been the Emperor's gardener at St. Petersburgh for upwards of thirty years. In conversation he frankly admitted that he had an unfavourable opinion of

the Russian Government and people. He said the nobles had no patriotism; that when any public effort was required, they never came forward and subscribed, because they had no confidence in their country. This he said might perhaps arise from their knowing the Government so much better than foreigners. When any proposal was made to them to improve the country, their answer was, "Why does the Government not do it?" I told Mr. Gray that, at Odessa, Kief and every other town which I had visited, most unfavourable reports had been given to me of the corrupt state of the Government in every department in the army, navy, courts of justice, customs and police. Extortion, peculation, and great injustice of every description, especially in all that related to the slaves, were represented as prevailing to a frightful extent throughout the vast dominions of the Emperor Alexander; and that all attempts to arrest this torrent of wickedness was utterly unavailing. I inquired of Mr. Gray whether or not these representations were correct, and if so, how the nobility could have any confidence in the stability of such a system? He described the country between Moscow and Taganrog as the finest possible for gardens and agriculture, but nothing, he said, was done; the people were lazy, indolent, and poor; they never

ploughed the lands properly; they merely scratched the surface, and in consequence the corn and plants could not strike their roots to any depth and often perished for want of moisture. The peasants or slaves had no proper implements to work with, no iron spades, nothing but large heavy and clumsy wooden shovels. He added, "They have no motives whatever for exertion." I inquired how men who were bought and sold like brutes for labour, kept in complete ignorance of their obligations to their Creator and their fellow-men, deprived of that liberty which every human being has as his birth-right—and of which, as a free and responsible agent, he cannot be deprived without a violation of the laws of nature and the principles of Christianity—and destitute of the ordinary comforts of life,—could have any motives for exertion.

10th, Thursday. At 11 o'clock this forenoon I went to a wooden church where all the public authorities were assembled to swear allegiance to the Emperor Constantine. This was done by an ukaze from St. Petersburgh. The body of the church was filled with people of the lowest order, and mougiks, who shewed no enthusiasm on the occasion. The Archbishop, accompanied by a number of priests, walked out through the doors of the sacristy. The ukaze from the Council or

Senate was then read, commanding the oath to be administered. The Evangelists were brought out and placed on a low stool, and over this the cross. All the priests first approached it, making the sign of the cross upon their breasts, then kissed the Evangelists and the cross. The employés were all sworn; the soldiers took the oath outside the church. I inquired if the Emperor took any oath to the people on coming to the throne, or if there was any species of compact between him and his people; and was informed that His Majesty would be required to take no oath; and that his will would be uncontrolled and above all law. As Grand Duke Constantine, he had been represented to me as a detestable tyrant, as violent and capricious in the highest degree. I could not procure a copy of the oath which was sworn on this occasion, but the following is a copy of the oath which the Emperor Alexander had commanded all the Professors at Kreminietz to take in the previous month of April. This document was given to me in the Crimea by a gentleman, not a native of Russia, who had resigned his office rather than comply with a requisition which none but the most abject and degraded slave could have submitted to. It is as follows: "Moi Soussigné je promets et je jure à l'Etre Suprême devant son Saint Evangile et devant la Saint Croix signe de

notre rédemption, d'être et de ne cesser d'être fidèle à Sa Majesté Impériale Alexandre Paulowiez, Autocrat de toutes les Russies, mon vrai, naturel et très-gracieux Souverain, ainsi qu'au successeur qui sera désigné au trône de Sa Majesté de toutes les Russies : de les servir fidèlement et avec zèle de leur être toujours soumis en toute ; de verser pour eux jusqu'à la dernière goutte de mon sang : d'observer et de défendre, dans le sens le plus étendu, de tout mon pouvoir et de toutes mes forces, les prérogatives et les attributs reportants et qui peuvent reporter de l'autorité suprême de Sa Majesté Impériale; de me prêter, dans toutes les circonstances, autant que cela dépende de moi, à tout ce qui pourra avoir rapport tant au service de Sa Majesté Impériale qu'au bien-être de l'état : d'avoir non-seulement à temps tout ce qui pourrait être préjudiciable aux intérêts de Sa Majesté Impériale, mais encore de tâcher de prevenir tout ce qui pourrait leur être contraire, de garder fidèlement les secrets qui me seront confiés, de remplir strictement et selon ma conscience les fonctions qui me sont commises : de me conformer en tout, tant à l'instruction générale qu'a ce qui est promulgué séparèment : de même qu'aux réglemens et ukases publiés au nom de Sa Majesté Impériale par autorité supérieure : de n'avoir ejamais en vue ni mon propre intérêt, ni l'amitié, ni la parenté, de

ne rien faire insidieusement de contraire à mes devoirs et à mes fonctions, de me conduire toujours en tout comme le doit un sujet fidèle de Sa Majesté Impériale. Et comme je dois comparaître un jour devant le redoutable tribunal de Dieu pour lui rendre compte, si je prévarique, je lui livre mon corps et mon âme. En foi de mon serment, je baise l'Evangile et la croix de notre Sauveur. Ainsi soit il.—Kreminietz, le 12 Avril, 1825."

11th December, 1825, Friday. This morning at nine o'clock the body of the Emperor Alexander was conveyed from the house in which he resided to the church called St. Alexander Newsky, which has been fitted up for its reception. The streets were lined with troops. At half past nine the procession set out. A small party of gendarmes commanded by the Master of Police, under his direction, led the way. Then followed the valets, cook, and others, employed about His Majesty. Next, the persons employed about the quarantine and others of the town. Then came a number of priests with flags, torches, and crosses, usually carried in funeral processions. Then came a band of singers. After these a number of generals bearing the orders, crosses, &c., of His Majesty. The car was drawn by six horses covered with black cloth. The coffin was exposed at the head. The feet covered with the same yellow gold cloth

which I noticed in the chamber in his house. Over the coffin was a canopy with yellow silk. Attached to the car were a number of cords, which were held by some of the most distinguished officers of His Majesty. After these followed a body of Cossacks with their pikes reversed. The day was bitterly cold, and the effect was not great. The Empress's coach followed the hearse, also another coach and droshky. Guns were fired at short intervals from the time the procession set out.

12th. I went to the church of St. Alexander Newsky this morning where the Emperor's body was lying in state. There was a platform in the middle of the church covered with black, to which the ascent was by several steps. On this was a small elevation covered with red. Over this was placed the coffin surmounted by the canopy. There were two Cossacks with drawn swords at each door of the church. A number of slaves or peasants were looking in but not permitted to enter. All the priests were preparing to celebrate the service in cloaks. Four guards paced around the coffin. A priest in black at the head read the Gospels. At the feet, on cushions raised on stools covered with red velvet, were the different orders of His Majesty. This was all that remained of the mighty Sovereign who had

reigned over forty millions of slaves, and whose empire had extended from China to the Baltic Sea, and from the confines of Persia and Turkey to the Arctic Ocean.

24th, Thursday.—At last the doubt which has prevailed during the last three weeks respecting the successor to the throne has been dissipated. This morning letters and a printed document, by the order of the new Emperor, Nicholas I, have arrived from St. Petersburgh. It appears that in 1822, Constantine wrote a letter to the late Emperor, stating his desire to waive his title to the succession in case of the Emperor's decease, and requesting that the next in the line after him should take his place. This letter was laid before the Empress-mother, and the Emperor Alexander acceded to the request. The letter of Constantine and the act of Alexander, declaring Nicholas his successor, were enclosed in a sealed packet, and delivered some time ago into the hands of the council of the Empire, to be opened by them in case of his decease. It was to be the first act of the Council after Alexander's death. When this was done, the Grand Duke Nicholas and the Council, wishing to give Constantine an opportunity of revoking this agreement, caused all the troops and authorities in St. Petersburgh to swear allegiance to him, and sent off a messen-

ger to Warsaw to invite Constantine to Petersburgh. An answer was immediately sent from Warsaw, declaring that his purpose to live in retirement continued unchanged; and in the printed paper of the day the manifesto of the new Emperor calling on all his subjects to take the oath of allegiance to him is published. It also appears, from the printed paper, that a regiment of guards at Petersburgh refused to take the oath and broke out into an open revolt. The Emperor Nicholas went to them, and reasoned with them calmly in the midst of the tumult; but all his arguments proving ineffectual, force was obliged to be had recourse to, to bring them into subordination. Nicholas remained among them several hours, in the utmost danger of being murdered; and the Count Milaradowitch was shot dead by a person not in a military uniform. There were seven officers belonging to good families engaged in this seditious movement; and it is also stated that other persons not belonging to the army urged on the soldiers to this desperate act. The number of lives lost I have not heard; but it must have been considerable, as the sedition was not quelled until several pieces of artillery were brought to play upon them. The-
were chiefly young men who were engag said,
this affair; but that an extensive consp erve, and

formed to prevent the accession of the present Emperor there cannot, I think, be a doubt, from persons not in military uniform taking part in the proceedings and urging forward the soldiers. This is an ominous commencement of the reign of Nicholas; and will not be forgotten, though it should be equally prosperous as that of his predecessor and of still longer duration. To-night the body of the late Emperor is to be packed in the coffin and the lid screwed down. Sir James Wylie and the Empress are to be present. I am told the removal to-morrow does not take place on account of the severe cold. General Frederiks, brother of the Commandant of this town, was wounded at St. Petersburgh. It is probable that a true report of these proceedings will never be obtained from any individual in this country; the versions of the affair being already as numerous as the individuals engaged in it. It is likely some of the persons attached to the English Embassy were present and saw all that passed; and if this were so, a clear and full statement may perhaps in two months be obtained from that quarter.

26th, Saturday.—There was an intention to tuoclaim a Constitution at Petersburgh on the the t. Thirty officers are said to be implicated swear al.conspiracy. All who were with the

Emperor that day are created Aides-de-Camp, and Généralsen-Chef. We return to Odessa on Tuesday, when the removal of the body to St. Petersburgh will positively take place. Yesterday was a festival, but there was little appearance of gaiety, and less drunkenness than usual on such an occasion. The whole of these proceedings will exert a pernicious influence on the character of this reign. The Emperor Nicholas will either be a tyrant or a coward.

During the time we remained at Taganrog, I resided in the same apartments with Baron Brunow, and was on very friendly terms with him. One day he related to me the following anecdote in his most playful manner: "An English nobleman and the celebrated M. de Montesquieu once met at Venice, and were comparing the English and French nations. M. Montesquieu maintained, that the French were much more intelligent and acute than the English. The Englishman did not contradict him, although he did not give his assent entirely, being prevented by politeness from contradicting him. Every night M. de Montesquieu committed to paper what had passed during the day. On the following morning after this conversation, an Italian entered the apartments of the Marquis, and said, 'You keep a journal of what you observe, and

it is disliked extremely by the Government. I advise you to burn your Journal immediately, otherwise you will run the risk of being thrown into prison. He immediately cast his Journal into the fire and it was consumed.' The same evening the English nobleman waited upon him, and M. de Montesquieu related the circumstance, and expressed himself very uneasy at the thought of being subjected to imprisonment. The Englishman observed, 'Now you see the difference between the English and French: had this happened to an Englishman he would have considered the probability of this, or at least have endeavoured to avoid it; he would certainly not have thrown his Journal into the fire as you have done. I sent the Italian to see how you would act on this occasion, for the purpose of shewing you the difference between the two nations.'"

In spite of this kind and delicate hint my Journal or Diary was continued, and it has not yet been cast into the fire and consumed. I shall close this account of the last days of the Emperor Alexander with an extract from this Journal, dated the 13th December, 1825, before the news arrived at Taganrog of a conspiracy and revolt at St. Petersburgh:—

The Journal which I have kept since quitting London has proved a source of the greatest

pleasure and improvement to me: it has accustomed me to observe with greater care and has been the means of enlarging the boundaries of my knowledge, by inspiring me with an increased desire for information on all subjects connected with the laws, institutions, and manners of the people of this country. It has been a sort of task-duty to me, as has been observed, without the discharge of which I do not feel that the business of the day is performed. No friendly eye may ever peruse its details, and I may not live to enjoy in the security and peace of my native country the satisfaction which a reference to it might afford. The events now passing before me interest not only Russia and all Europe, but they will ultimately produce an effect upon the general condition of the human race. The first symptoms of the bursting forth of forty millions of men to liberty and equal laws is a phenomenon sufficient to arrest the attention and rouse the warmest feelings of the heart. In the present situation in which I am placed, and cut off from the society which I love and from the professional occupations which have formed the greatest pleasure and charm of my past life, the exercise of committing my thoughts and all that I witness around me to paper is attended with a very excellent effect. It seems to act as a

sedative when agitated by feeling, or overcome by despondency, and I never lay down my pen but I rise stronger in virtuous resolution, more ardent in hope, more satisfied with the lot that Providence has assigned me in life. "A thousand vague fears, wild expectations, and undigested schemes hurry through one's thoughts in seasons of doubt and danger; but by arresting them as they flit across the mind and throwing them on paper, and thus by the mechanical act compelling oneself to consider them with scrupulous and minute attention, one may perhaps escape becoming the dupe of one's own excited imagination, just as a young horse is cured of the vice of starting by being made to stand still and look for some time without interruption at the cause of its terror." In Russia, it is true, I have met with little to admire or imitate, and learned nothing which can benefit my own country in any respect. Many centuries must elapse before the people of this empire can rise to a condition to be put in comparison with the people who form the nations of the west of Europe. Here at present knowledge and a desire for useful information are met with in a few individuals only; I might say in none without exaggeration, except those who have been educated in foreign countries, or filled official situations far from Russia. Court favour,

honours, rank, crosses, and other similar baubles are the objects of ambition with the highest and the lowest with few exceptions; while public virtue, usefulness, and the desire of improving and benefiting the mass of the slaves is looked for in vain. The greater number of the nobility, or slave-holders, being excluded from those mental occupations suited to their rank, which they would find in other countries, betake themselves for the most part to gambling and low sensuality. The condition of the slaves is afflicting in the highest degree to every man possessed of any spark of human feeling or any sense of justice; and it is impossible without sorrow to witness the wretched condition in which they are almost universally doomed to spend their lives. The extent of this slavery is also to be taken into account, and the utter degradation of the human intellect in so large a mass of our species.

The following observations were written after my arrival at Taganrog with Count, now Prince Woronzow, when the general expression of grief and affliction for the Emperor Alexander had begun to subside. The people here, and indeed all over the empire, were much attached to their sovereign, on account of his personal good qualities and amiable and conciliating manners. Affability and benevolence he certainly possessed in an emi-

nent degree, and had he not been a great monarch he would have been beloved and respected by all who knew him. But I have met with none here who have endeavoured to form an estimate of his public and political life. I have asked, what has he done for the internal improvement of the country? but no one has fixed upon any object of importance which will serve to commemorate his reign. Of his conduct in regard to Greece, Italy, and Spain, there can be but one opinion; and, in respect to Russia, few will hesitate to express their conviction, that his blind attachment to the army, and his dread and hatred of all free institutions in the country, have been two of the greatest errors which a sovereign could have committed. The former passion led to the ruin of the commerce of the country and finances of the empire; and the latter to the proscription of every species of public instruction, and an obstinate opposition to the introduction of all useful knowledge. The state of the universities is truly wretched; every man of talent being either driven out or forced to quit them, owing to the restrictions to which they have been subjected. Had one thousandth part of the sums which he expended on the army and navy been devoted to the institution of public schools, to the general welfare of the people, and to the instruc-

tion and emancipation of the slaves, civilization might have been far advanced; and the danger which must ever exist to a country where so large a proportion of the people are in a state of slavery, greatly diminished, if not completely removed. But everything like freedom was banished from the country, and all was sacrificed to this great army. If, instead of wasting the last ten years in exercising his unwieldy host, in planting military colonies, and in crushing the rising liberties of Germany and the south of Europe, he had directed his mind to the improvement of the laws and civil institutions of the country, and to the amelioration of the forty millions of slaves in his empire, what a magnificent and imperishable monument would he not have raised to his fame all over the world. As things are, he will not cease to be viewed in all succeeding ages, by political philosophers, as a scourge to his country, and as one who utterly failed in fulfilling the high destinies which Providence at the commencement of his reign appeared to have marked out for him.

By firmly resisting the invaders of his country, by marching his army into Germany after their retreat, and by his conciliatory manners keeping the Sovereigns on the Continent in a state of union till the power of their adversary

was destroyed, there can be no doubt that he rendered the greatest services to the nations of Europe. But in so far, and no farther, are they indebted to him. The fate of this vast empire no one can certainly foretell; but that changes await it, and at no distant period, who can doubt? The army is rotten at the core. Many of the officers detest the present system of government, and desire a representative and constitutional government, and long to see the slaves educated and gradually emancipated. The soldiers cannot feel any attachment to the government which has dragged them from their homes and doomed them to a life of the severest hardship. Slight circumstances might effect the most important changes in the whole structure of society in Russia, and it is hardly possible that good should not spring from any change. All power being vested in the army, the changes will begin first in that quarter, and will propagate themselves into all the ranks of the empire. Again, I say, that no one regrets the Emperor Alexander as a public loss, and I feel certain that out of Russia few tears will be shed on this occasion, except by those wretched despots whom he has assisted by upholding them in their unlimited and unlawful power. Even at Taganrog, where his body now lies, where his Empress is still present in a state of deep mourning for his

loss, and where all the trappings of woe are exhibited, the tears of the people have already ceased to flow, and the thoughts of all are directed with the deepest anxiety to the line of conduct which his successor, Constantine, will follow. The Emperor Alexander undoubtedly gained the affection of those immediately around his person, because he was most attentive to their feelings and wants, and by them he is no doubt sincerely regretted; but of his tender mercies to the people at large I can see no evidence. Where were his sympathies at the Congresses of Troppau, Laybach, and Verona, for the people, whose national independence he violated? How did his compassion shew itself when inflicting so much misery on those whom he had torn from their families to fill up the ranks of his useless and almost countless legions? What regard to the feelings of those crown slaves whom he had planted in his military colonies?—Verily the Emperor Alexander had much to account for, before the tribunal of Him "who seeth and judgeth not as man seeth and judgeth."

THE END OF PART I.

PART II.

THE FIRST DAYS

OF

THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS.

THE FIRST DAYS

OF

THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS.

On the 10th January, 1826, the day after the funeral procession had set out for Petersburgh, I left Taganrog with Count Woronzow to return to Odessa. The thermometer during the greater part of this dismal journey was about 16° below the freezing point of Fahrenheit, and a wind, sometimes like a hurricane, was blowing from the vast plains between us and Siberia. While at Taganrog I had frequently seen the bodies of those who had perished from the cold on the steppe in the night brought into the town in the morning, and had been permitted to subject them to anatomical examination, to ascertain the effects

of the intense cold upon the heart and the other internal viscera.

In our journey from Odessa to Taganrog, as we travelled along the steppe, I had read to the Count Woronzow, being alone in the carriage with him several hours in the day, portions of English reviews and journals, voyages of discovery, and travels into Africa which had then been recently published. We reached Nicolaef in safety, where as usual we met with a cordial reception from Admiral Greig. A short time before this a ship of 80 guns had been launched, and one of 110 guns, which was to be named the *Derbent* was upon the stocks. At Odessa the universal feeling prevailed that the nation had been saved by the decision and courage of the Emperor Nicholas at Petersburgh on the 14th December. I was however deeply afflicted on learning, that some of those from whom I had received the greatest kindness and attention in Russia, and for whose character I entertained respect, were among the conspirators; that they had been arrested, conveyed to Petersburgh, and were immured in the dungeons of the fortress on a charge of high treason. General Michael Orloff, whose services in the French war were well-known, was one of these.

In the month of June, 1825, I had accompanied his brother-in-law, Col. Alexander Rajewsky, to Kief, and had spent three days most happily in the society of General Orloff. His wife was generally admitted to be one of the most accomplished and virtuous women in Russia, and in all his domestic relations he appeared most happy. General Orloff did not conceal from me his dissatisfaction with the condition of the slaves and the corrupt state of the Government, but he did not give vent to any expression from which it was possible to infer that he was involved in any enterprise to destroy the Imperial Family and subvert by violence the existing order of affairs. He was deeply engaged in the study of political economy, chemistry, and other sciences, in which it was understood he had made great progress. With General Orloff and Colonel Rajewsky I saw all the churches, chapels, altars, shrines, and the catacombs at Kief, dug out of the rock, in which were contained the bodies of more than a hundred bishops, saints, and historians. The recollection of his noble and generous countenance and his kindness on that occasion have never been effaced.

Count Olizar, a Polish nobleman, who had accompanied Count Woronzow to the Crimea,

and remained with us all the time we were on the South Coast, was another prisoner at Petersburgh. He was in very delicate health; he had been singularly unfortunate in his family, and was labouring under the deepest melancholy, and in despair respecting his unhappy country. "On the 25th of September, 1825, at Yoursouff, at dinner, I sat next the Count Olizar. He said sadly: 'How miserable it is to be a Pole with any head and any feeling:' and taking out a small pocket-book, he shewed me a scrap of paper on which were written the two following lines from *The Pleasures of Hope:*—

> 'Hope for a season bade the world farewell,
> And Freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell.'"

Count Olizar and the Colonels Alexander and Nicholas Rajewsky were soon liberated; but Prince Serge Volhonsky, who had married another daughter of General Rajewsky, the sister of Madame Orloff, and not less distinguished for her virtues and accomplishments, in a few months after had his sword broken over his head, was stripped of his rank and honours, reduced to the condition of a common slave, and banished into the wilds of Siberia, where he has remained, if living, ever since. I had been introduced, the previous winter,

to Prince Volhonsky at Biala Cerkiew, the residence of the Countess Branicka, the mother of the Countess Woronzow, and at Odessa had professionally attended his family and become well acquainted with him. He was a most affectionate father and devoted husband; but I knew at the time that he was not in favour with the Emperor Alexander and had incurred by some frivolous act the deadly hatred of Count Araktcheieff. I had before this been informed that the following laughable circumstance, which had taken place four years before, during a visit of the Emperor to the military colonies, of which Count Araktcheieff was the founder, was the cause openly assigned for Prince Volhonsky's disgrace.

The following is the account of this affair, copied *verbatim* from my Journal:—

The military colonies please one at first sight from the order and cleanliness everywhere prevailing in them; but their population is said to be wretched in the highest degree. When the Emperor Alexander was here, some years ago, he went round visiting every house; and on every table he found a dinner prepared, one of the principal articles of which consisted of a young pig roasted. The Prince Volhonsky suspected there was some trick, and cut off the tail of the pig and

put it in his pocket. On entering the next house the pig was presented, but without the tail, upon which Prince Volhonsky said to the Emperor, "I think this is an old friend." The Emperor demanded his meaning, when he took out the tail from his pocket and applied it to the part from which it had been removed. The Emperor did not relish the jest, and it was supposed this piece of pleasantry led to his disgrace. A more effectual, though bold and dangerous, method of exposing to the Emperor the deceptions carried on throughout the military colonies under Count Araktcheieff could not have been adopted than that which Prince Volhonsky had recourse to on this occasion. From that time Count Araktcheieff became his bitter enemy.

Nothing can be sold without the knowledge of the officers in these military colonies. It is said that when a hen lays an egg, it is necessary to make an entry of the fact in a register, kept for this and other equally important purposes. I was told, that when a priest was speaking to some of these peasants about the punishments of hell, they answered they dreaded them not, because a worse hell than that in which they were doomed to pass their whole lives here could not possibly exist.

When I was in the Crimea, during the autumn of 1825, I heard of the murder of Araktcheieff's mistress, a woman of the most cruel and tyrannical disposition. A favourite female slave, having given her some offence, was ordered to be whipped in a barbarous manner; her brother, incensed at the outrage, vowed vengeance against the offender, and in a few days stabbed her to the heart.*

* See Schnitzler's *Secret History of the Court of Russia.* In the account of the life of Araktcheieff, recently published, it is stated that the Count "had a mistress who ruled him, as he did the Emperor. She was the wife of a sailor, a woman of haughty and imperious character, avaricious, and hated for her cruelty. Yet she was courted, and her interest was solicited: the head of the police paid her the most marked attention, and even men of the first families did not blush to memorialize her, and to flatter her pride and avarice by presents. Naturally cruel, she exercised her authority over the serfs who waited upon her with the utmost barbarity. The assassin, whom rage had impelled to strike the blow, was not the only culprit. In order to perform the deed he required accomplices, and had found them among his comrades, who all hated their tyrannical mistress. The accused were twenty-one in number; and that circumstance brought the case under the jurisdiction of the Senate. To withdraw them from the higher tribunal, the Count had them tried on the spot of their guilt in lots of seven each. In contempt of existing laws, many were broken on the wheel, and all condemned. Alexander in the meanwhile had taken his journey to Taganrog, and Araktcheieff remained at his post. He was not yet consoled for the loss he had sustained, when he was overwhelmed with the news of the death of his beloved master. The act of grace before mentioned could not fail to be

The death of Alexander and the events which followed rendered it necessary for Count Woronzow to go to St. Petersburgh, and to postpone till the month of November his visit to England. We left Odessa on the 15th of March, 1826, o.s., and reached the capital on the 11th April. We proceeded through the governments of Cherson, Podolia, Kief, Czernigow, Mohilew, Witepsk, Pskow, and Petersburgh, from the Black Sea to the Baltic, at a time when the roads were almost impassable. During this journey, I continued to record in my Diary or Journal the observations which I made, and from which the following extracts are taken.

announced on the accession of the new monarch. It would have saved the unfortunate beings upon whom General Araktcheieff's vengeance had fallen, from the dreadful punishment of the knout. Banishment to Siberia was not, he thought, sufficient punishment; so he hastened the preparations for enforcing the sentence, which was carried out with all rigour on the very eve of the publication of the amnesty."

I can bear my testimony to the truth of the following statements by the same writer:—"So recently as 1825 every one trembled in the presence of Araktcheieff; his name was in every mouth; every act of severity and oppression which overshadowed the last ten years of the life of Alexander—a monarch in his own impulses noble and generous—was laid at his door."

Photius the monk had obtained the same influence over Araktcheieff which he had acquired over the Emperor. "Alexander learning the deplorable condition to which his favourite had been reduced by the loss of his mistress," observes the same

16. Tiraspol.—I visited the military hospital, and, at the request of Count Woronzow, paid a visit to General Sebanieff, who had been suffering from biliary calculi, but was recovering. Bender, where Charles XII. had taken refuge after the battle of Pultowa, I could see with difficulty from a height near Tiraspol. During the day we proceeded along the Dneister. We passed a large Armenian village in a very flourishing state. In the evening late we arrived at Count Nesselrode's, twenty-four miles from Balta. He had established here great flocks of merinos. I saw several of these; one was valued at a thousand

author, "applied to the monk for assistance to rouse him from his dejected state. He addressed to him a letter, saying he had learned that Araktcheieff was a prey to despair: that he (Photius) alone could prevent the fatal consequences to be apprehended from it—he, whose words full of holy unction, and whose unblemished life had recalled so many stray sheep to the fold. He conjured him from the depths of his heart to exert his powers: and continued—'Summon him to your side; speak to him in the name of religion; strengthen his faith; entreat him to take care of himself for the sake of his country, to which he is of such consequence:—you will preserve to her a peerless servant, and to me a faithful friend, to whom I am sincerely attached.' The man of God complied with the wishes of the monarch; he invited the favourite to come to him; Araktcheieff went, and remained some weeks in the holy retreat, performed penance, and regained calmness. But his thirst for vengeance did not yield to the influence of religion, the first law of which enjoins forgiveness of injuries."

roubles, another could not be purchased for any money. It is a small kind of sheep, the wool consisting of fine threads or fibres like silk. Few trees; ground in this tract uneven.

18.—Passed Balta, a large town full of Jews. From this the country assumes a rich appearance, and no country can surpass Podolia in fertility of soil and luxuriance of the woods. We dined at the General Goudewitch's, who has a large estate between Balta and Tulcyn. He is the son of the General Count Goudewitch, who commanded the unfortunate Russian expedition against Persia in the time of Paul. Podolia belonged to Poland; and Paul gave this estate with all the peasants to his father. The house was large and comfortable, though built of wood, and well furnished, and the domestics all well clothed.

19.—Arrived at Tulcyn, the former grandeur of which has been described by Tweddel in one of his letters, and by Mr. James in his Travels in Russia in 1806. At present the palace, which is falling rapidly into ruins, belongs to Count Micheslaus Potocki, who is represented to be an avaricious man, and hard to the slaves. In one of the wings of the palace was lodged General Kisseleff, who had married the eldest daughter of the Count Potocki, and who is settled here as

chief of the staff of General Wittgenstein. The whole establishment of General Kisseleff appeared miserable. In front of the palace were rank weeds and grass growing, the garden neglected; slavery in its most dire forms existing all around.

21st.—Slept this night at Count Jaroslaus Potocki's. The house small, but extremely comfortable. The Count is the half brother of the other Potocki's, and is represented to be a man of good taste. He has collected a great number of works of art in Italy and France. It is said, however, that his fine taste has led to the loss of 12,000 slaves, and that 3,000 only remain.

22nd. Ouman.—Went in the morning to see the gardens of Sophiephka—with their cascades, grottoes, granite stairs, subterranean passages. The father of the present family of Potocki had 200,000 peasants. His annual revenue was upwards of 3,000,000 roubles. His estate has been divided into sixteen parts. Each son obtained about 15,000 peasants, and each daughter 5000. M. Lewchin, private secretary to Count Woronzow, and afterwards governor of Odessa, here informed me that the slaves cannot give evidence in a court of law against or for their masters. A slave, he said, will always speak in favour of his master, as he will naturally fear his vengeance.

I could not learn whether a slave could give evidence in any case in a court of law against or for a free man. In the time of the old Count Potocki, the slaves were treated very mildly; at present, they are squeezed in the most unmerciful manner —the number of days when they must labour being doubled; great discontent everywhere.

23rd.—We left Ouman and reached Stavistcha, a village belonging to the Countess Branicka—a beautiful situation. The colonel of the regiment of dragoons stationed here was arrested, and has died in the fortress at Petersburgh. It was said that he had a determination of blood to the head, and the chagrin produced by his arrest brought on a fatal attack of apoplexy. The brother-in-law of Prince Serge Volhonsky and General Orloff, Nicolas Rajewsky, was lieutenant-colonel of the regiment; and on the 11th of June, 1825, I had gone from Biala Cerkiew to Stavischa with his brother, Colonel A. Rajewski to see a review of this regiment of dragoons.

The following is the account given of this visit in my Journal:—

This morning before daylight I left this place with Colonel A. Rajewski, in his caleche, to visit his brother, and to see the review of his regiment of cavalry. The morning was cool and pleasant; there

were frequent and vivid flashes of lightning from a mass of black clouds in the east. The moon in the wane was shining brightly, and there had been a shower to refresh the parched fields. The nightingales were singing in great numbers in the woods and gardens of Alexandria. We passed through the village of Biala Cerkiew, and in no long time came fairly upon the steppe and drove rapidly along. In several places we passed a large number of the wagons of the country drawn up in squares, and the drivers around a fire in the centre, and the oxen grazing around. This is exactly the manner of the Tartars. These men go from this to Odessa, and still greater distances, and fare in the same manner during the journey. There were a few houses upon the road for the entertainment of passengers, although this was a by-road. On the steppe for many miles no houses were to be met with. The peasants sleep all the night in the fields without any shelter, and do not return to their villages for a considerable period—for some weeks. We arrived at six o'clock in the morning at Stavische. We found the Lieut.-Colonel asleep. It is a village; the houses of wood and mud; the population chiefly consisting of Jews and peasants of the Countess. In the middle of it there was a handsome catholic church

of stone; the Greek church was a miserable wood hut. Colonel Rajewsky was lodged in the house of a Jew; his apartments very humble; yet I was astonished to find a great collection of all the best modern books, on history, politics, and chemistry, and translations of the best English works into French. In this remote place, and in the midst of rude unlettered soldiery, this young officer, for he is only twenty-three, retains all his natural ardour for study, and has lost none of his natural good humour. I was happy to have an opportunity of seeing how a million of my fellow creatures pass their time. He was speedily dressed, and we had an excellent breakfast of tea, coffee, and eggs, &c., under the projecting roof of the house in the open air. All these houses have this, with a long bench constructed of hard earth and stones underneath; and on these the whole family is seated in the evenings. These poor peasants must take the same interest in one another that more civilized persons do; indeed their attachments are said to be much stronger, and I was astonished to find that with slavery and all its evils they are just as much attached to their native soil as I am. A process has lately been going on here between the peasants and the Countess. They were once free men, when this country was a part of the

kingdom of Poland; but it appears they had lost their personal liberty before the lands were granted to the Countess, and they have no chance of regaining it. In this distant village, in the centre of the Ukraine, there are even in the hearts of these peasants aspirations after liberty. They have some men of superior talents, who even here take the lead, and who know well what their natural rights are. After breakfast Colonel A. Rajewsky went to sleep, and his brother and I went to see the military hospital and the camp, which is pitched on the highest point of a beautiful ridge, two versts from the village. The tents were all pitched, and the horses collected in squares formed by ropes, with their heads tied to them. The regiment is 1000 strong. There were seven squadrons, the horses of each in a separate square, and the tents of the men belonging to each squadron pitched close to the squares in which the horses were contained. There were six men in each tent. It reminded me very much of St. Boswell's Fair, on the Scottish border; the horses were tied up exactly in the same manner. The sick soldiers all lodged in one house: those who were able all rose when we entered, as at Odessa. There were 35 sick out of 1000 men, and none of them appeared to be

severely ill; a considerable number of intermittent fevers, cases of scrofula, typhus; several accidents; one of pneumonia, several of whitlow. The beds consisted of a coverlet and sheet and strong hempen bags filled with straw, a most uncomfortable thing for a really sick person. When the regiment changes its position, these bags are emptied, and the beds are not difficult to be transported, the wood being light. Upon the whole, there was far less filth than I expected to find. This camp is only pitched for a few days, on account of the review. The officers' tents are large and double, and quite sufficient to keep off the rain. In war, these tents are not carried with the army. Officers and men bivouac in the open air without any shelter. In the severest weather this is the case, and it is astonishing how little injury is done by exposure to the cold. At two o'clock the Colonel of the regiment and four officers dined with us. The dinner was excellent in every respect, and I received, as an Englishmen, every attention and respect. The best French wines in abundance. At seven we went to drink coffee at the Colonel's; the house beautifully situated. A fine view of the lake and woods on its shore. Several squadrons of horse came down to drink in the lake. The riders un-

dressed, mounted, and made the horses swim to a considerable distance from the shore. It was a lively sight, the naked soldiers and the horses swimming in the lake. There must have been at least 400 in this situation. We again returned to the camp, where the tents were completed. There was a large military band of trumpeters. The tent for the church was being erected.

12th.—Went to the camp. The inspection commenced at 8 and lasted till 11—the sun fiercely hot. With a General of Division I had some conversation, but he did not appear to be a well-informed man, though very civil. He had served with a regiment of light cavalry in various parts of the Continent. He said that the English cavalry were the finest in Europe; that the army was so small and the country so rich that we could afford to keep our troops better than any other nation. He said that in Russia they wanted machines for their soldiers, not men too enlightened. During this visit not a word escaped from the lips of any individual which could have led me to expect what took place before the close of the year, or to anticipate the fate of the colonel of this regiment, who appeared to be a most amiable and kind-hearted man.

26th March, o.s., 1826. Biala Cerkiew.—I

found Colonel N. Rajewsky on arriving here; he appeared dejected, as well he might. He informed me that Russia was saved entirely by the fortitude of the Emperor Nicholas. Had he not been firm and determined, and the opposite party weak and undetermined, the fate of the family must have been decided on the 14th December. He went out alone and addressed his troops, who were not disposed to recognize him. He caused with difficulty the cannon to be brought to be fired upon the multitude, and it was not until night began to approach that it was done, and the mob dispersed. The whole designs of the secret society are known, said Colonel N. Rajewsky to the Government. It consisted of 200. Their intention was to destroy the whole Imperial Family, to separate Poland from Russia, and to give Courland and the other German provinces to Prussia, Finland to Sweden, and to establish a confederated republic similar to that of the United States of North America; all titles to be abolished; the land to be divided into two equal parts, one half to be given to the slaves, the other to be worked by them for the Government. This was conceived to bear a resemblance to the form of government now existing in the United States. It is difficult to place any con-

fidence in the statements which you receive on this subject. Colonel Rajewsky did not profess to know anything of the designs of the state prisoners beyond what he had heard by rumour at St. Petersburg, from which he had just returned, after a short confinement in the fortress. He remarked that St. Petersburgh was now a very interesting place, as you heard every evening what had occurred, what discoveries had been made in the designs of the conspirators by the Commission in the course of the day.

30th March. — The following account of the conspirators was communicated to me by one personally acquainted with them, but who was very hostile to them, and who was probably ignorant of their views.

The greater a man's natural talents are in Russia the lower does he sink. There is an utter debasement of character from the miserable despotism which pervades all classes. Mouravieff, who went to Khiva, established no friendly relations with the Khan. He was imprisoned forty days, and was with difficulty allowed to proceed onward to the capital, where he remained only two days. He saw nothing of the country, and could not give any account of its appearance, productions, or natural history, from his own

observations. He is a fool, but his cousins, who were men of merit, are all in the conspiracy. The second brother, who did not kill himself, as was reported, but was destroyed by the grape-shot, was a villain. He said, on quitting St. Petersburgh, I should not be sorry to see my father's head on the top of a pike in case of a revolution. There were four colonels who would have risen at the same time. Colonel Mouravieff wrote to them from Vasselkoff that it was time to rise. Artaman Mouravieff received this note from his cousin Mouravieff at Vasselkoff, but he did not forward it to the other colonels of artillery. Artaman Mouravieff, who wanted to kill the Emperor, is a bad man. He burnt the paper, so that the colonels of the artillery came and fired upon Mouravieff, though they were in the conspiracy. All three who fired upon Mouravieff are now taken and in the fortress. Mouravieff is a man of character, and now, though he knows he will be shot, behaves like a man of honour. He was led by a fool. The property of the nobility would have been destroyed, but not divided, because at first all the civilized part of the nation would have been murdered, and for that reason all this project is horrible in the extreme. Pestel is a man remarkably vain, and easily flattered.

He imagines himself another Buonaparte. The public welfare he had certainly not in view; and it is very doubtful if any of the others had, although many of them bear excellent characters, according to their friends.

By another individual, who was well acquainted with Mouravieff, he was represented as one of the most respectable of the individuals engaged in this affair; morally correct in his private conduct, fond of useful knowledge, a good brother and a kind and sincere friend, but possessed of a small portion of common sense. Pestel, he said, had few of these qualities, though much superior to all the others in talents, and particularly in acquiring influence over those around him. There were no means which he had not recourse to for this purpose, and particularly a species of flattery, so seductive that few could resist its influence. Four years before this a great dinner was given to the Emperor Alexander at Tulcyn, after a review. An officer demanded of another sitting by him, who was the individual who had the greatest influence here? He replied, the Emperor. No, said the other, it is that little man whom you see there, pointing to Pestel. In the constitution of Pestel, he proposed at one sweep to set all the peasants of the empire free: no preparatory steps were

considered necessary, and he seems to have entirely disregarded the dreadful consequences of such a measure. He never, indeed, had the public welfare in view. The order for the arrest of Pestel, it is said, was made out before the death of Alexander. Mayborodka's denunciation, there is no doubt, reached the Emperor the evening we were at Aloupka. All the circumstances prove this.

6–18th April, Tuesday.—During the last three days we have been passing through the most dreary forests.

Tchernigow.—Around this town the cottages are numerous, and the ground well cultivated.

Mohilew.—Here we crossed the Dnieper, now reduced to a paltry stream. All the low grounds inundated. This is the head quarters of what is called the Great Army, commanded by General Sacken. Count Woronzow went to the town with him, while we remained at a miserable Jewish trachteer's. The town is paved with granite, and presents a respectable appearance. It is built on the banks of the Dnieper, which are here very lofty. The corps of Davoust and the Poles advanced into Russia by this town, and followed the great road to Orcha and Smolensko. Little opposition was made to their advance, but during

the retreat they were dreadfully harassed by the Cossacks and light Russian troops. From this almost all the way to Petersburgh the road runs through an alley of birch trees.

Orcha.—The road most infamous; the weather dreadfully inclement. The most wretched miserable town possible. Through this Napoleon passed on his retreat. At the inn, we met two elderly gentlemen, one of whom was Mareschal of the Noblesse of the Government of Yekatrineeslaff, nervous, reduced in health and spirits, as I was informed by those who knew him. He had been arrested and forwarded, like many other innocent persons, to St. Petersburgh. It appears that the prisoners, the persons actually culpable, have introduced the names of individuals who had nothing to do with the conspiracy, and a great number of quiet individuals have in consequence been dreadfully harassed. Most horrible roads from Orcha to the town where we slept, two stages from Witepsk. The postilion who drove us said, our horses are ruined by the number of officers we are obliged to transport to St. Petersburgh. We crossed several rivers in this route. To-day we begin to approach the streams which take a course westward and run into the Baltic. We crossed the Dwina, a large navigable stream, before we reached Tchernigow.

Witepsk, a large town, with a greater appearance of civilization than in any since we left Odessa.

11th, Monday.—Passed Gatchina and Tsarkoezeloe, and reached St. Petersburgh a little after mid-day. I was struck with astonishment at the grandeur of the quays, palaces, public buildings, and the bridges of granite over the canals, these lined with granite. Streets paved, the greatest cleanliness, and crowds of persons moving about in every direction; all the bustle and activity of a great capital. I could not help contrasting this with the miserable villages and people I had left behind in White Russia. After dinner I went with Colonel A. Rajewsky to take a sail on the Neva. He told me that 250 persons were implicated in the conspiracy. The Prince Volhonsky, he said, is lost for ever. But for the courage of the Emperor this plot must have infallibly succeeded; and but for the want of direction on the part of those who revolted—they were completely without a man of head for directing them—otherwise confusion must have overspread the Empire on the 14th. We sailed along the quays of granite, built about eighty years before, and which appeared still very little injured. We sailed under the Bridge of St. Isaac to the Bourse, and from the point on which it stands saw at one view the

fortress with all the buildings above it, and on the right the line of palaces and houses upon the quay. The sun was just setting, and its rays were beautifully reflected from the broad stream of the Neva, and from the windows of the palaces upon its shore. The lines of Lord Byron came to my recollection—

> "I stood in Venice on the Bridge of Sighs,
> A palace and a prison on each hand;
> I saw from out the wave her structures rise,
> As from the stroke of the enchanter's wand."

13th April, o.s., 1826.—Admiral Greig came into my apartments, in the house of Count Woronzow, and sat with me nearly an hour. He said, after inquiring about the health of the children, that it would be a good thing if the Count's son could be sent to England to be educated, and particularly to Edinburgh, for the Scotch with all their prejudices, and he could laugh at them most heartily like others, were a more thinking people than those of any other nation; and that nothing could exceed the presumption and ignorance of many of the young men educated at the English Universities. The Admiral said much that was favourable of the Count's father; of his personal influence with the English

Ministry; of his having served his country in the highest manner possible; that he returned to Russia at the beginning of the last reign with the intention of settling here, but that he found the Emperor so surrounded, and the nation so corrupt, that he saw no means of being useful, and retired to England: in consequence of which he is represented as a disaffected person. The Admiral said that he had remained here to see what the reception of the Count would be, and if he was likely to be in the confidence of the present Emperor. The Admiral said that the Count was the only man in the country who could presume to speak the truth to the Emperor, and that if he was ill received it would be the worst sign for Russia, and all might despair. The ministers no doubt disliked the Count. The Admiral had always thought that at the death of Alexander mischief would occur to Russia, and that had Constantine ascended the throne general confusion and bloodshed would have been the consequence. He said the quays were all made by contract, and badly executed, and that in fifty years a great part will have given way. Each year the rock on which Peter the Great stands sinks a little into the marsh. The Emperor Alexander proposed to construct a quay on the

opposite side of the Neva. I was informed by another party, that the expenses at St. Petersburgh were much the same as at Paris; that the capital is the very gulf of Russia, in which all its riches are swallowed up. Count K. has a revenue of 600,000 roubles, but he spends only 200,000, and he is a rare instance of economy. He lives half as a Russian and half as a foreigner. He has Russian slaves who serve in his house; he pays them as free people, that they may be always well clothed. There are perhaps eight or ten families that do the same at St. Petersburgh, but generally the Russians do as I had seen done in the south of Russia. The servants immediately about your persons, and those behind your carriage, are, perhaps, clean; all the rest—is filth and beggary. Go no deeper.

14th April, o.s. — This morning, Dr. John Prout, physician to Admiral Greig, called upon me at mid-day, and I went with him to view the different parts of the city. We proceeded to the Place St. Isaac. The Church of St. Isaac, it appears, has been built, rebuilt, and changed repeatedly during the last three or four reigns. It was built by Catherine of marble, but was left unfinished when she died. Paul finished it with bricks, and these still remain on the upper part

of the building. Nash compared the reign of Catherine to marble and that of her son to brick. Alexander has made great changes upon it, and there are at present in the Place St. Isaac granite columns of an immense size, at least seven feet in diameter, intended for the gates. The fore legs of the horse of Peter the Great are pawing the north wind. The rock on which he stands has not been left in a rude state, but cut into an artificial form. It has been broken into two pieces. On the west is the Senate House; on the east, the Admiralty; on the north, the Neva. Along the south side of the Neva, the quays of granite extend for several versts. Here is the English quay, the Palace of the Emperor, the Hermitage, the Marble Palace, the house of Admiral Rebas, with a hanging garden. On the north side of the Neva is the Great Island, on which is situated the Bourse, connected with the south side by a bridge of boats, 430 paces in length. Opposite the Bourse is the Fortress and Church which contains the remains of the Imperial Family.

There are 250 persons implicated in the plot, for granting liberty to the slaves, obtaining a constitutional government to Russia, and destroying the Imperial Family, here immured and doomed to certain destruction. Death or exile for life await

them! This evening I went with Colonel A. Rajewsky to visit his sister the Princess Volhonsky, who is overwhelmed with grief. She knows not the fate that awaits her husband. I am astonished at the insensibility of those around me. To-day at dinner were present the Count Woronzow, Counts Pahlen and Olezar, Admiral Greig and Colonel Rajewsky. When Count Olezar was in the fortress, he said, a serjeant was sent to shave those who were least implicated in this unfortunate affair. The Count wished to be excused, and said he did not require to make his toilet, and that he would rather be left alone, and not have his face handled in the manner this serjeant did. The serjeant replied, when we are flogged, they do not ask us whether we would prefer the right or the left side.

15th, o.s.—The Duke of Wellington said, that if St. Petersburgh was the finest city in Europe, it was certainly the dullest. I begin to be of the same opinion, having already seen the exterior of all the great edifices. The affairs of Government are surrounded by darkness. Magnificence is mixed up with so much poverty and meanness, that it seems very imperfectly to conceal the slavery and misery which prevail everywhere. To-day I went with Dr. Prout to the Kasan Church, to wit-

ness the ceremony of Washing the Disciples' Feet. There was a great ragged crowd; few persons of rank or respectability. There was a sort of scaffold erected in the middle of the church, on which the Metropolitan and the clergy were placed. High Mass was repeated at the great altar, and after this the Bishop took off his robes. A great basin of water was brought upon the scaffold, and he proceded to imitate the example of Christ. There was nothing imposing in the ceremony; it was, on the contrary, an absurd piece of folly. In this church is the tomb of Koutousoff, and a great many banners. After this, we walked to the Catholic Church where Prince Poniatowsky and Moreau are buried. The latter has a very small tablet on the wall erected to his memory, stating that he was born at Morlaix, and that he died in 1813 at Lützen. There was nothing rich or grand in this Catholic Church; on the contrary, poor, and few paying their devotions. The house of Count Woronzow large and elegant, and the entertainments sumptuous in the highest degree: Count Stanislaus Potocki, Prince Galitzen, and other distinguished Russian noblemen, present today at dinner. The Duke of Devonshire is appointed Ambassador from England during the Coronation, and Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, from

France; and it is expected that they will soon arrive. Troops are already setting out for Moscow. The ceremony will not take place till the end of June. It is not believed that the ancient Russian dresses will be worn at the Coronation by any of those who perform the different services about the Emperor. Large masses of ice floating down the Neva. The Baltic is not yet open. The bridge of boats over the Neva has been replaced.

It is not possible clearly to discover what line of conduct the Emperor is about to pursue. It does not yet appear who has obtained an influence over him. Count Araktchieff has certainly been repeatedly admitted into his private society, his secret society, and has dined with him at Tsarkoe zeloe, which does not augur well.

17th.—To-night is a great ceremony in the Russian church, the Resurrection of our Saviour. Numbers of people dead drunk in the streets. I went with Dr. Prout, a little before midnight, to the Church of Kasan, which was crowded with people, each holding a lighted candle in the hand. The painting of our Saviour was removed behind the altar; and soon after the priests, with crosses and banners, left the church in search of Christ. They formed a procession outside the church, and soon returned; then they went round its interior,

exclaiming "Christ is risen!" The whole assembly then seemed to be seized with a religious frenzy, and began crossing themselves with great rapidity. At the moment when the resurrection was said to have taken place, guns were fired from the fortress. Great numbers of people came into the church, carrying bread to be blessed by the priests. The streets were illuminated, and crowds of people were passing along. On returning home the sky was red from the reflection of a house on fire, and the engines were hurrying along to the spot. I returned home at three o'clock in the morning. It was stated, that on the tables of most of the inhabitants of St. Petersburgh the morning after this ceremony the paschal lamb is placed, which has been blessed by the priest, and that the head is cut off.

18th.—I went to the English Chapel, and in the middle of the service was suddenly seized with a severe attack of the Crimean fever, from which I did not recover completely for some months. In the intervals of the paroxysms I continued my observations on St. Petersburgh.

28th.—I went to see the house of M. Narishkin, Grand Veneur, the husband of the Polish lady to whom Alexander was so long attached, and for whom he had deserted the Empress, and literally

broken her heart. The house had been fitted up with the greatest taste. I noticed a most beautiful picture of St. John, by Domenichino, and a great number of other pictures of no value.

Mr. Landers, brother-in-law of the English Consul-General at Odessa, has arrived from London. He thinks it extremely probable that there will be war between Turkey and Russia. Certain it is that the Duke of Wellington gained nothing like an assurance that war would not take place; and soon after the Russian Government sent off what they call their ultimatum to the Turkish Government. The Turks will shut up the Bosphorus to all vessels in case of war. Mr. Landers, who had long resided in Odessa, observed that all the people here talk of the *propriété* of St. Petersburgh. It is the masquerade part only which is clean: the courts and lanes of the city are more filthy than it is possible for an Englishman to conceive. There is not a tolerable hotel in St. Petersburgh: they are dirty, poor, beggarly, and excessively expensive. The only possible means of living is to get into furnished lodgings. I enquired why there were not hotels kept by Germans and French. His reply was: the Russians are so dirty, that if good furniture were placed in the apartments it would soon be

completely ruined by them, so degraded are their habits.

29th.—Beautiful spring weather; vegetation advancing rapidly. I went with Dr. Prout and Mr. Landers to the church in the fortress. The spire is slender and gilded. The tombs of all the Emperors from Peter I. are placed here. They are extremely simple; covered with a rich cloth of gold, and over this a common cloth. The Emperor Alexander is placed by the side of his father. In this church is a great collection of trophies, Turkish, Persian, Polish, and Swedish. Near the door of the sacristy are some ivory images carved by Peter the Great. The fortress, like everything in Russia, presents a miserable, dilapidated appearance. Vast numbers perished in the construction of it. From this we went to the house of Peter the Great, the first house which was built at St. Petersburgh. It is a small cottage, consisting of two apartments and a small closet between; the whole in a state of great preservation. In the corner of one of the apartments is an image of our Saviour, before which lamps are kept constantly burning. This is the image which Peter carried about with him where ever he went. The cottage is inclosed in a larger one which protects it from the weather com-

pletely, and around it is a small garden, very neatly laid out. The trees and grass are in a state of fine verdure. The boat made by him is also here.

It was a singular fact, mentioned to me by Admiral Greig, that the commission appointed by the late Emperor to devise some means for preventing the effects of future inundations, have looked at the papers of Peter on the subject, and that they have been able to devise nothing which does not appear to have entered into his consideration. No plan has yet been formed, nor does it appear that any can be suggested, except the formation of a great wall or dyke, similar to the dykes in Holland, which would completely destroy the appearance of the quays. From the house of Peter the Great I went to the Arsenal, where I saw them boring brass cannon: the whole of them beautifully formed. The machine was constructed by Baird and Clarke of the Lugar Iron Works. The cannon was turned round, not the instrument for boring the cannon; the whole driven by a powerful steam engine, also erected by Mr. Baird. There is here a great collection of guns for flying or horse artillery. Prodigious numbers of banners taken in war with the different nations which they have conquered. A great variety of guns, cannon, plans of towns, Wiborg,

Ochtchakow, &c. The uniform of General Miloradowich; a pistol-shot had pierced the blue ribbon which he wore, and entered his side near the heart. I was told that he had never been wounded in all the numerous battles in which he had been engaged. All the orders of the late Emperor—the car in which his body was conveyed from Kasan to the fortress—the horse stuffed which Catherine used to ride. I was told that stone of the bladder was a frequent disease here, and that there were surgeons who operated with great success in these cases. I did not see any of these operations performed.

Mr. Landers read a letter from a relative at Ouman, giving an account of an extraordinary transaction which had just occurred to a large proprietor. A soldier came about the first of this month into the court-yard with a great number of peasants armed with bludgeons, and arrested Mr. H——, and committed acts of great violence. An officer passing came and demanded of the soldier by what right he did so. He threw the officer also into irons. It appeared that this soldier had deserted, and raised the peasants, who in this quarter of the country are everywhere ripe for revolt. Troops have been sent into all the villages to preserve order, and are quartered there. This spirit pervades the

peasants in the south of Russia extensively. Several pavoskys were brought into the court-yard, and all believed that Mr. H—— had been arrested by an order from St. Petersburgh. The proprietors in this part of the country had for some time before been gradually increasing the days of labour.

1st May.—A revolt has taken place among the peasants at Luga. A report of this has been sent to the Emperor, and troops have been dispatched. It appears that a spirit of great disaffection exists among the peasants all over the empire, and a great many of the proprietors are so afraid of this that they dare not go, as usual, to spend the summer in the country. A general idea pervades the whole country, propagated by revolutionary characters, that about the 1st of May the peasants were to be set free. In the afternoon went by water to Catherinehoff; the weather cold as during December in England. A great crowd of people on foot and in carriages and droshkies. A more striking picture of splendid misery I had never witnessed: a great mixture of magnificence and meanness. Some of the carriage-horses had harness of ropes, hay under the coachmen, wretched filthy drivers and servants behind. There were only a few carriages which could have appeared in Hyde Park without

being remarked as excessively dirty and mean. Great bands of *gendarmes.* Little or no gaiety among the people on foot. At Elagen, where I went a month after, things were very different; I there saw many equipages of great splendour. In the evening Mr. Landers expressed his belief that the Turks will evacuate the two Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, to take away all ground of war with Russia. It appears the Russians have demanded the ratification of the treaty of Boucarest in the most insolent manner, and want, he thinks, merely an excuse to go to war, not knowing what to do with their army, and wishing to get rid of a part of them. The probability of the war is greatly increased by what I have heard to-day from Admiral Greig and from Sir James Wylie, who has received orders to hold himself in readiness for the war. After the news came that the Turks had acceded to the demand of Russia, I saw manifest disappointment in the visage of Sir J. Wylie.

3rd May.—I visited the Marine Hospital with Dr. Leighton and Dr. Gibbs, and found the whole in very good order. Attached to this hospital is an excellent theatre for surgical operations, which has been raised with a great deal of trouble by Dr. Leighton. Dr. Gibbs, formerly a pupil at St. George's Hospital, amputated above

the knee for a diseased tibia in a dexterous manner. It was a general day of inspection, and all the surgeons connected with the hospital were in their uniforms, and all followed Dr. Leighton uncovered—the highest military order preserved. A more wretched set of men, about twelve in number I had rarely seen than these. I experienced the greatest civility from Dr. Leighton and Dr. Gibbs, and was pleased to find that their views on most medical and surgical subjects corresponded with those entertained by the most scientific medical practitioners in London. Dr. Leighton told me that he often found the greatest difficulty in getting the German practitioners settled here to do anything rational, and that he was often compelled to quit patients altogether after long, absurd, and fatiguing discussions. With Dr. Salaman I visited the wards under his care, and saw a large number, at least 100 patients, with purulent ophthalmy, many of them with complete disorganization of the eyes, and a large number with a granular state of the inside of the palpeliæ. He is accustomed to cut this off with scissors and to apply nitrate of silver and vinum opii. Leeches are not allowed in any of these cases. When he gets the disease in a recent state he bleeds freely. He applies cold water to the head, not to the eye. Afterwards

he uses astringent lotions, vinum opii, and when a granular state exists, applies the nitrate of silver or removes the part by excision with curved scissors. The constitution of all the patients I saw appeared to be scrofulous in the highest degree, and I learned that they were badly nourished, dirty, and lodged in apartments where the air is foul. Purulent ophthalmia is not believed to be contagious here, and in a great public institution for the sons of soldiers there is no separation of the healthy from the diseased.

At the house of one of the wealthiest English merchants I met this evening at dinner Mrs. P——, a friend of the late Emperor and the chosen friend of the Empress Elizabeth. She informed me that the Empress had quitted Taganrog, and had travelled 200 versts the first day without fatigue; that the physicians had been deceived respecting her disease; that her feet have begun to swell, and that water in the chest is now dreaded. Several of her family have died of water in the chest. Her Majesty was to arrive to-day at Kalouga. The climate of St. Petersburgh, the miserable state of Poland, and the justice of impressing seamen in England were some of the topics discussed. After dinner I had a long conversation with a countryman on the state of Russia, where he had long resided.

He was of the same opinion, as all with whom I had spoken, as to the utter profligacy of the Government and the hopelessness of any improvement taking place. He said the Emperor had no doubt learned many truths which had never reached the ear of his brother; yet it was doubtful what good would arise from this as he was not surrounded and aided by intelligent active men. He stated that there were at least 4000 English in Petersburgh, and that the commerce, instead of declining, had increased considerably since 1814. He told me that the manufactures of Moscow had attained great perfection, and that he thought, from the life of idleness which the peasants were obliged to lead the greater part of the winter, that manufactures might be introduced with great effect in Russia, and that they had a supply of the raw materials in perfection. Catherinehoff, he said, was almost entirely destroyed by the inundation of 1824, and General Miloradowich had it restored for the purpose of diverting idle people, a kind of resource or lounge that idle people must have in summer. The sum required for the repairs was 120,000 roubles. It is a miserable marsh. I told him that I had seen little gaiety there—nothing of those gaudy dresses and costumes which some authors had described.

4th May, O.S.—I went to the Hermitage, with Count Pahlen, Dr. Prout, and Mr. Landers, and saw all the paintings, 1300 in number, of Raphael, Titian, Salvator Rosa, Guido, Leonardo da Vinci, Murillo, Rembrandt, Rubens, and others. In this palace is the library of Voltaire, arranged as at Ferney, consisting of 6,760 volumes. There is also a library of history, containing 100,000 volumes; and another said to have been collected by Catherine for her valets to prevent idleness. There are here three statues by Canova—Cupid and Psyche, the Danseuse, and Hebe with the cup; and several large vases of malachite and Siberian jaspar. I was introduced to Mr. Dawe, an English artist, and saw his gallery of the Russian Generals distinguished in the last war. He received from the Government 1000 roubles for each portrait.

It appears that the trial of the state prisoners in the fortress has terminated, and that all the evidence, their confessions, and mutual accusations will be laid before a number of judges, who will weigh the whole and determine what degree of guilt attaches to each. The names of those who conducted this important preliminary part of the trial were kept secret. The prisoners are to be divided into four classes. All who have been connected with secret societies are held to have been

guilty of high treason, but a great many of those who did not contemplate the murder of the late Emperor will be confined some time in the fortress as a sufficient punishment for their crime. Others will be shot or hanged immediately, and others sent into Siberia. Mr. Landers remarked that he should be greatly deceived if Nicholas did not turn out a great Tartar, and much more severe in his character than Alexander. I heard further reports of the dissatisfied state of the peasantry, and that they were almost universally ripe for revolt.

5th May, O.S.—To-day I visited the Lunatic Asylum. Most of the individuals mad, raved about the Imperial Family, military colonies, governors, vice-governors of towns, adjutants, and soldiers. Some were upon their knees making the sign of the cross, and this occupation they followed all the day long. Each bed consisted of a sort of wooden bench, and close to each was a leather cord, like a piece of coach harness, which was fixed around their legs in cases of violence. It was said that no violence was ever used to these patients, and that a plan of medical treatment was pursued. A young physician walked around the wards set apart for the ordinary cases of disease, of which there were upwards of three hundred. He was a follower of Hahnneman,

and ignorant of pathology in the highest degree, calling every disease consumption which affected the lungs. He described a set of cases, which he called morbi agonici, in which individuals were brought without any hopes of living, and when he was accustomed to throw buckets of cold water over their heads, by which means he said he had saved the lives of several. A common case of epilepsy he called opisthotonos; a simple uncomplicated case of mania he termed inflammation of the brain, though the eyes were not red and no febrile symptoms were present. I saw several cases of scurvy. The gums were actually in a fungating state, there was a peculiar paleness of the countenance, and there were blotches on the legs. The Government gives 100,000 roubles per annum for the support of this hospital, and each patient on entering pays 10 roubles. Most of the patients are slaves, and this sum is paid by their masters.

Marshal Marmont arrived on the 1st May, and entered by Catharinehoff during the procession. It is said he imagined that all the people there assembled had come out to meet him. I do not suppose there is more truth in this than in the ill-natured report that the Duke of Wellington was badly received at Petersburgh, and lost a great sum of money at play.

6th, O.S.—A fine warm day. I went to the Artillery Hospital to see the patients, under the care of Dr. Steen, a countryman. The wards were in excellent order. The term "cardiopalmus," invented to denote palpitation of the heart by Sir J. Wylie, was applied to all the various diseases of the heart and great blood-vessels, which I was told were extremely common in the officers and soldiers of the Russian army. A vast number were classed under the head of chronic catarrh. It appears that among these soldiers there is a great desire for knowledge, and that they often teach one another. One soldier had a Psalter, which had been given to him by the Bible Society here, which he was reading. On the blank leaf before the title-page there was written as follows: "On —— day I took the oath of allegiance to the Emperor Constantine Paulowich." It was not said that he had taken it to the present Emperor. This man belonged to the regiment of Paul, which is said to be one of the most orderly in the whole service. Yesterday was the day on which the question of peace or war with the Turks was to be decided. If war, M. Minziaky was to have left Constantinople yesterday.

7th.—Went to see the clinical wards of

Dr. Salaman and the lecture-rooms and anatomical preparations of the Academy of Medicine. The chief preparations were those of Mr. Cruickshanks and Liebeekün. Those made by the latter were beautiful and certainly very minute. The vessels of most of the different organs were placed under small magnifying glasses.

9th, O.S.—News was received last night of the death of the Empress Elizabeth at Bielew, in the government of Orel. What strange events have taken place since I entered Russia! Preparations are making for the coronation of the New Emperor. The prisoners in the fortress are to suffer before this, and now the death of another member of the Imperial family will arrest all these proceedings. To-morrow there was to have been a grand review of all the troops in Petersburgh before Marshal Marmont. This also has been put off. Lord Strangford observed to Mr. Landers to-day that in conceding as they had done the Turks had acted very wisely and had been well councilled. When the Russians sent their Ultimatum they declared that it had nothing to do with the Greek cause, and that in that cause they meant not in any manner to interfere. Lord Strangford observed in so doing they had

thrown away their birthright for a mess of pottage.

10th May, o.s.—Beautiful weather. Went at six to dine with one of the wealthiest English merchants. Some remarks being made on sectarians and the Bible Society, the Rev. Mr. Law, a relation of Lord Ellenborough, said that though unconnected with the latter institution, he could not deny that it had done much good, and that the New Testament had been accurately translated into the Russian language. This is the only part of the Bible he said which has been translated with the Psalter and published, and Mr. Cattley said that the Russians were exceedingly fond of reading the Scriptures; and from what I had observed in the Artillery Barracks I had no doubt of the fact. Mr. Law further stated that, though the translation of the Old Testament had been prepared as far as the Book of Ruth for publication, and though the translation was faithful in the highest degree, yet the Metropolitan would not allow of its publication, though permission had been asked and repeated frequently during the last eighteen months. It is now believed that there is an intention to suppress the Bible Society entirely. It is said this measure has originated in the fears which the Government entertain of proselytes

being made from the Greek Church. So much for the liberality of the Government of this country in religion.*

13th, o.s.—Yesterday visited Count Strogonoff's palace. It is large, but badly arranged. There is a large collection of Siberian minerals; a gallery painted at Rome of one of Raphael's on canvas; several fine pictures, by Vandyke, Rubens, and others; vases of malachite and rock crystal. The library, the only really comfortable room in the house. From this I went to visit the Academy of Arts. The building is considered one of the most classical in Petersburgh, the work of a Siberian. There is a great collection of busts, casts, &c., for the use of the students. Models of most of the temples at Rome in cork. Models of other modern buildings. There is a room in which all the portraits of the President are suspended. Here there is a portrait of Alexander by Gerard.

14th, o.s.—Lady Strangford died early this morning. She was *enceinte* when she left London, and suffered most dreadfully from sea-sickness during the whole voyage to Petersburgh: she never afterwards enjoyed good health. Subse-

* Soon after this the Bible Society was suppressed, Prince Galitzin, the President, dismissed, and all the foreign missionaries ordered to leave the country. This was a bad omen.

quent to her confinement she went out occasionally into society, but was not well. Lord Strangford said that his lady became ill because she forgot the difference between the climate of Petersburgh and Constantinople.

15th, o.s.—Beautiful summer weather. Short nights. Most of the people here again in mourning. The carriages covered with black cloth. I called on Sir James Wylie; he had just received a letter from Dr. Stofregen, giving an account of his feelings at the time of the Empress's decease, and of the post mortem appearances. These were as follows:—Pretty extensive adhesion between the pleura pulmonalis and costalis on both sides of the chest, and between the pericardium and the diaphragm. The substance of the lungs perfectly sound. The left auricle and ventricle nearly of the natural size, but the walls of the latter somewhat thicker than usual. The valves at the mouth of the aorta cartilaginous, the right ventricle six times the natural size and the walls thin as writing-paper. The valves at the mouth of the pulmonary artery are stated to have been ossified. The condition of the pulmonary artery and of the right auricle not stated, and nothing said respecting the aorta. The abdominal viscera sound. Also the contents of the skull perfectly sound. Sir J. Wylie before

reading the letter said I will tell you what my opinion is respecting the actual state of the organs, and if you please you may write it down, which I did in short-hand as usual. Adhesions between the pleura; no hydrotherax; induration and obstruction in the lungs; enlargement of the aorta and right ventricle. I consider the enlargement of the right ventricle as produced by the obstruction to the circulation in the lungs from induration of their substance. Adhesion of the pericardium, hydrothorax, or hydropericarditis cannot have taken place, because there was no room for it, from the adhesions and from the actual state of the inflammation which formally existed.

16th, O.S.—A continuance of fine summer weather. Went to the English chapel, where the chaplain of the ambassador preached a funeral sermon for the late Lady Strangford.

17th.—A duel was on the point of taking place between Admiral Greig and the Minister of Marine. A Commission has been sitting upon the state of the fleet at Cronstadt, and the Minister of Marine, Admiral Müller, made some reflections on Admiral Greig which he could not endure. He sent a challenge which was accepted, and the Minister of Marine procured as his second the Governor of Petersburgh, General

Koutousoff. Count Woronzow was Admiral Greig's second. The Minister of Marine however did not come to the field. He sent the challenge to the Emperor, who it is said made no observations upon it. General Koutousoff made his appearance on the ground to state that the Minister of Marine did not choose to fight. The Admiral, Count Woronzow, and Dr. Prout were all upon the field ready for action. How the affair has been settled I know not. It appears that the Emperor sent General Diebitch to Count Woronzow to propose some arrangement, but the Count was highly incensed, and used the expression that there were *certain things which the Imperial power even could not settle:* an expression which I thought reflected on him the highest honour.

24th, o.s.—Lord Strangford returns to England. Count F. Pahlen, who has filled several important diplomatic situations out of Russia, and who is intimately acquainted with the English constitution and laws, has accepted the office of Governor of Odessa, and is to act as Governor-General in the absence of Count Woronzow. This morning I visited the Foundling Hospital. There were upwards of five hundred children here, most of whom were under the age of twelve months. The wards were large, airy, and clean. By each

bed was a little cradle suspended, in which the children were placed. Each child had a nurse; a collection of such horribly ugly women I had never before seen. They were true Russians and Fins. The mortality was stated to us to be 20 in 100 of all those admitted. In the hospital there were about fifty sick, but few with any serious malady. Sixteen were brought to the house this morning and deposited with the Swiss, and no questions whatever were asked respecting them. When they are vaccinated and weaned they are sent out to be brought up in the homes of the peasants. Twelve thousand are now in this situation. Most of the children I saw had some eruptive complaint, the effects of disorder of the stomach. Each nurse is paid one rouble per day during her residence in the hospital and receives her food. The whole expense of this institution was said to be one million of roubles annually. When reared the children are placed out in different professions. It is said that the girls turn out ill. A physician who had charge of part of the hospital had been reared in the institution. I was informed by a surgeon that the greater part of the children brought up in this manner are much afflicted with the worst forms of scrofula. Germans and native Russians occupy most of the medical offices in all the hospitals.

25th, o.s.—I saw the subclavian artery tied this day successfully by Dr. Arendt, for axillary aneurism. I was informed that most of the great arteries of the body (the carotid, subclavian, external iliac, and femoral) had been tied successfully at Petersburgh by different surgeons, English, German, and Russian. No attempt had been made to tie the internal iliac.

This day Count Woronzow was created a member of the Council of the Empire, and M. Longuenoff, one of his secretaries, an upright man, Vice-Governor of the Crimea. A Commission has been appointed by the Emperor for the formation of a new code of laws for the Empire, and a report is commanded to be presented in two years. It does not appear that any attempt is about to be made by the Emperor to reform the civil administration of the country, the demoralizing influence of which cannot fail to continue in Russia while the Government does not earnestly take up the business. Count Woronzow and every other enlightened and honest man must in time become disgusted with what they are compelled to witness without being able to afford any remedy.*

* M. Speransky's new code of laws has been promulgated more than twenty-five years, but the condition of the slaves has not been improved, and all the *employés* of the Government are represented, if possible, more venal and corrupt, and are

26th.—On the English quay, to the amusement of all the world here, five English sailors were seen on a droshky, driving backward and forward, and playing every kind of absurd prank.

29th.—This morning, at 9 A.M., with Dr. Prout, who had a letter of introduction from Admiral Greig to the Admiral of the Baltic Fleet, I went on board the steam-boat at Mr. Baird's to go and see Cronstadt. There were Russians, Germans, English, French, and Poles on board. We were struck with the vast extent of the moles of granite at Cronstadt. On the beach were at least six great ships of war which had been carried there by the inundation: one of 100 guns. Some of them they had begun to break up as utterly useless; others they had succeeded in getting into the water. A great part of the moles at Cronstadt is of wood, the remainder of granite, all resting upon piles; the fortifications towards the sea extremely strong. Opposite Cronstadt is another fortress of great strength called Cronslat. All ships of any size must pass between these before reaching Petersburgh. It appears that if the ships had been properly secured none of them would have been lost during the inundation. In the harbour for mer-

characterised now as they were in 1825, as the greatest brigands and *canaille* in the Empire.

chant ships no accidents happened, because they were better secured. It is said, that at no period within the recollection of persons here were there so few ships at Cronstadt as at this time, not only of English but of the ships of all other nations. The harbour at this season is usually crowded; at present there is a great part quite empty. We immediately went to see Commodore Candler, an Englishman who has been in the service of Russia many years. He is advanced in life, and his constitution completely broken up. It appears there is to-day a great inspection of the fleet before it sails in a few days, and that the Emperor is about to pay it a visit. Admiral Crown who commands the fleet was a lieutenant in the English navy. He was sent out by Count Woronzow's father, and had the command of a small vessel. With this he used to infest the coasts of Sweden, running into their harbours and doing much mischief to them, so that they sent out a frigate to take him. He fought the frigate, and took her. He was immediately appointed captain of the frigate, and with this he took a 74-gun ship sent out against him. He is now Commander-in-Chief of the Russian squadron. We soon took leave of Commodore Candler, and went into a boat to get out to the fleet. All the admirals were engaged in the

inspection, so that Dr. Prout could not present his letter of introduction. We rowed round the "Gloucester," which had brought the Duke of Devonshire from England. At the time all the Russian admirals and a great body of officers were on board the "Gloucester." When the Russian officers left her a salute of nine guns was fired, the echoes of which along the shore were very striking and produced a sound like the rattling of thunder. The "Gloucester" had a round stern, and on this account she has been spoken against by all the people here, but she had the appearance from a distance of much greater compactness and strength than the Russian vessels which were at anchor in a line opposite to her. In returning to Petersburgh by the steam-boat I met the Rev. Dr. Paterson, who, as a missionary, had traversed the Crimea and Caucasus as far as Tiflis. Dr. Paterson informed me of a new means which the Emperor has taken to discover the abuses which prevail in the different public offices. Two weeks ago a poor man presented a petition to one of the secretaries of General Dakin, with the view that it should be presented to the Emperor. The man returned after a time and enquired if it had been presented, when the secretary told him that nothing could be done unless he would advance

2000 roubles. The poor man said that he had not 2000 copecks, but that he would try to obtain it. He contrived by some means to get a petition presented directly into the hands of the Emperor, stating his case and the corruption of the secretary. The business was put into the hands of the Count Kutousoff. Two thousand roubles were given to the poor man, who presented them to the secretary. The numbers of the notes were marked, and immediately after the man had announced to Count Kutousoff that they were accepted, he sent a guard to arrest the secretary. At first he denied it, but on being told that the Governor knew even the number of the notes he had received, he confessed, or rather the money was found upon his person. The Emperor ordered a trial, to be finished in three days. He was convicted, sentenced to be degraded, rendered incapable of ever holding any public office, and sent to Siberia; all except the latter part of the sentence he suffered. Dr. Paterson told me that the Emperor had organized a secret police for the purpose of collecting information respecting these abuses and of everything that is said respecting himself and the Government, an account of which is to be presented to him without the names of the individuals whose opinions are related. A very

excellent man is said to be at the head of this new species of police or inquisition.

14th, O.S. — The funeral of the Empress Elizabeth took place this day. It had been rumoured that anonymous letters had been sent to the Emperor to inform him of another plot and to warn him to take care of himself on this day. This was probably the cause of His Majesty, with his Etat-Major, proceeding on horseback at a rapid rate, saluting each company of troops as he passed, before the funeral commenced. This consisted of a great number of the different tradespeople in black with small flags; lancers; a great number of girls belonging to the different schools patronized by Her late Majesty; a long procession of priests; a state carriage with eight grey horses; and a man in armour. The car was the same as that used for the Emperor. It was followed by the Emperor and Empress, generals and officers. Then a long line of cavalry and horse artillery. There was no music to enable them to march or impress their minds. The whole moved forward at a rapid rate, without much order or solemnity. Minute guns were fired from the fortress. The Summer Gardens, the houses looking to the Champ de Mars, the vessels moored along the quays, near the bridge which crosses to the fortress, were crowded with

people. I returned home and prepared for my departure from St. Petersburgh the following morning.

15th June, 1826, O.S.—I left St. Petersburgh, for Moscow at 2 P.M. A cold north wind, with clouds of dust. Count Woronzow will set out a few days after, and go direct to Biala Cerkiew, and from thence to Akerman, where a congress of Turkish and Russian Plenipotentiaries is to be held. I proceeded to Moscow with General and Madame Narishkin and Mr. Artemieff. We reached Tsarkoe-zeloe at 8 o'clock. The palace consisted of one great front and two wings, and presented a most imposing appearance, very far superior to any thing at St. Petersburgh. The north part, which had been burnt down on the evening when Captain Cochrane Johnstone was passing here to proceed to Siberia on foot, had been rebuilt. The pillars, columns, and pilasters of the chapel, were almost entirely covered with gold, and the paintings were of great beauty. This is the part which had been burnt down. The amber chamber was not burnt. I was not much struck with its appearance. A great number of pieces had disappeared from the walls. The floors of many of the rooms were beautifully inlaid with different kinds of wood, particularly cedar and nutwood. Many of the doors were of beech. Few or no good

pictures. The apartments of the Emperor Alexander were in the same state precisely as when he set out for Taganrog. There was a great deal of simplicity in their arrangement. On a table in each apartment were materials for writing, and a small spy-glass. In his bed-room were his boots, fixed by a hook to his sofa; his two swords, hat, and two pairs of gloves, at the side of a mirror. There was a small table near the side of his bed, on which stood his dressing-case in leather. In a small cabinet adjoining this was his library. Among the books were several on the French Revolution and the Art of War, Sir Walter Scott's Novels and Lalla Rookh. There were several portraits on the walls; one I believed of Madame Narishkin. The colonnade of Mr. Cameron is a work of great beauty. Around it was placed a great variety of statues; but I had not time to examine them. The walks were in the highest order, and there were clumps of trees precisely like those in our English parks. There was an English farm close to the palace, where was a dairy, merinos, &c.

From this we passed by Novgorod, Torzok, and Tver, to Moscow, where we arrived on the 20th. The *chaussée* from Petersburgh to Novgorod was excellent. Twelve thousand soldiers were employed in constructing the new road

between the capital and Moscow. As a great part of the country was a marsh, it was necessary to raise a high earthen mound, on which the granite broken according to Macadam's plan might rest. Until we reached the Volga at Tver, on both sides of the road the country had the appearance of an impenetrable forest. Along the road sides were some large villages and some cultivated grounds, but generally the forests were quite unbroken. We met large herds of oxen from the south on the road to Petersburgh, the drivers of which were the greatest savages I had ever seen. Of Novgorod I saw merely its general aspect, as I passed through it quickly. The old ditch and wall still remained, and many of the ancient churches. The state of the agriculture was wretched till we reached Torzok—the earth was merely scraped. The plough was drawn by one horse, a sort of miserable pony. Manure was spread upon the ground in grass by women, and then the plough set to work, but after all the greater part of the manure remained uncovered. The ground was generally poor and sandy. Before reaching Torzok we passed the Valdi Mountains, which are of no great height. Here was some pretty scenery. Along the road from St. Petersburgh to Moscow were villages established which belonged to the Crown. Their

inhabitants were called Yemsheiks, and possessed a species of freedom which other peasants did not enjoy; but I did not learn precisely in what respects they differed. They maintain the horses for the post. At each post station were at least 1000 horses. I was struck with the multitude of the bearded savages who collected around our carriages on our arrival, and who appeared by their words and gestures to be disputing. I afterwards understood that they were disputing about who should proceed with us. In one case I saw them determine this matter by drawing lots. There was a boldness and force in these men unlike anything I had before seen in Russia. The houses had all gable ends to the road, and were built entirely of wood. The projecting gable ends of the roofs were generally carved; the windows, generally three in number, also carved. Under these projecting roofs they sit or lie during the heat of the day, and many of them sleep during the night in their clothes and shoobs. I had seen at least a dozen, all lying heads and tails, with their clothes on in this situation—presenting in the morning early a disgusting spectacle. Many of the men, however, formed exceptions, being clean, intelligent, and in all respects civilized; the appearance of the females improved as we approached Moscow. Torzok

was a wealthy city. It was famous for its manufactures of leather of various colours for boots, shoes, pillows, cushions, beds, which were distributed over all Russia. Tver was a large populous city on the Volga, where there was an extensive commerce.

21st. Moscow, Monday, o.s.—All the day I was obliged to remain at home, being weakened bv the Crimean fever to a great degree. In the evening, however, I went to the Kremlin, which is but a short distance from Count Woronzow's house. I was not prepared for the grand scene to be witnessed from it. The whole city, with its numberless palaces and churches, was extended out from the walls of this ancient residence of the Tzars. Scarcely any marks were left of the conflagration during the French invasion. The house of Count Woronzow belonged to the Princess Daskhoff, and was left to him by her. This was also burnt, but has been completely rebuilt, though not furnished.

22nd. Tuesday.—No return of fever. Mr. Backmeetoff, brother-in-law of Prince Troubetzkoi, called upon me, and shewed great kindness. Prince Gortschakoff, whose family I had attended at Odessa, was also here. He informed me that the public entrance of the Emperor into Moscow will take place on the 22nd July, four

weeks hence; the Coronation on the 6th of August, and the great public fêtes on the 15th of August. This delay of the public fêtes is said to be owing to a fast which falls at this time. At 6 o'clock I went with General Narishkin to see the preparations making for the Coronation at the Kremlin. We saw the hall of the palace where the banquet is held after the Coronation. It is an ancient low hall, of a gothic appearance, with a large pillar in the centre to support the roof. There was a throne erected in one of the corners; the curtain suspended from the top of it was of purple velvet lined with ermine; the throne covered with scarlet, not much raised above the level of the floor; walls covered with crimson velvet. The hall is not capable of containing more than 250 or 300. This hall is a part of the palace occupied by the Imperial Family when at Moscow. After this we traversed several suites of apartments, all fitted up within the last thirteen years. We saw the room occupied by Napoleon on the south-west angle, from the windows of which one of the finest views of this strange city can be obtained, and from which he beheld the progress of the conflagration. There was no trace of him to be perceived. Close to this is the building anciently set apart for the women, in a true style of eastern architecture. The distance from the

palace, from which the procession will set out, to the cathedral, is only a few paces. The cathedral is very ancient; the doors covered with paintings; the walls of the interior completely covered with them also; many of them so decayed as scarcely to be visible. It is not a large church. The testament of the late Emperor was preserved in the sacristy of the cathedral, and was shut up in a pyramid, a box of gold and platina, about one foot in height, under a glass case. On the top of this was painted a human eye. The key was in the possession of the Governor-General of Moscow. In the centre of one of the domes of a church in the Kremlin, I think the Archangelisk, the face of our Saviour is so painted that, place yourself as you will, he appears to look down upon you. It is a large dark visage. In this church of the Archangelisk are the tombs of all the ancient Tzars, down to Peter the Great. They are ranged, like those at St. Petersburgh, side by side, and are covered with scarlet cloth, all in a state of dilapidation and decay. Great preparations were here being made for the Emperor; and numbers of people employed in cleaning the pictures of the saints. In the cathedral are various relics; one esteemed of great value is one of the nails which fixed our Saviour to the Cross; another is a little bit of the Virgin's shirt. These

churches were exceedingly rich, but were robbed of all their gold and silver by the French; the greater part I suspect, however, had previously been removed by the Russians. Around some of the pictures are emeralds, and other precious stones, said to be of great value. From the Tower of Ivan I had a magnificent view of the city. The great Bell is near to this tower, about 25 feet sunk into the earth. You must descend by a ladder to see it. It is covered with wood deals, and the rain enters freely; yet there does not appear much rust upon it.

23rd. Wednesday.—At 8 this morning I went to the Hospital of Count Sheremetoff to deliver my letter of introduction to Dr. Keir from Admiral Greig. I found him in the hospital, which was in such a state of disorder, from repairs going on, that I could not see it completely. I visited however, one ward, which was large, clean, and well ventilated. The beds were of iron; each had two mattresses, and they were covered with white sheeting. One of the mattresses of straw, the other of horse hair, above this a sheet; above the patient another sheet and coverlet, all clean and in the best order. It is more an alms house than an hospital. There are about 66 beds, however, for the reception of patients from the town, under the charge of Dr. Keir. He had come

into Russia in 1803, to be physician to the uncle of the Count the Chancellor, and remained with him until his death. He said that the Count Michel Woronzow was one of the most interesting young men he had ever known. In 1812, Dr. Keir was most anxious to establish himself in England; but he found it impossible, so great were the numbers of well-informed medical men in every town, and he was consequently obliged to return to Russia, where he married. Though in excellent practice, and physician to this hospital, he told me that were he able, he would not remain twelve hours in Russia. To an Englishman, he said, the practice in this country is the most disagreeable thing possible. In the nobility, you have generally to deal with mere spoiled children; persons full of absurd prejudices, and very destitute of information. Of the lower classes he said, the physician should constantly be accompanied with the knout, otherwise his orders will receive no attention. They have no education, they have no good example shewn them by their parents, or by any other; and in consequence almost all, without exception, are barbarous in their manners, and only to be commanded by the knout. I found Dr. Keir rather a little, thin, delicate man, above forty-five, and not in the best health. He has a house in the rear of the hospital.

He is Professor of Medicine in the Academy. He observed it was a singular fact, that formerly (twelve years ago) intermittent fevers were exceedingly common here, but since that time they had become actually rare. He allowed that a great deal of draining and cleaning had lately taken place in the town; the consequence, I imagine, of the conflagration: one of the effects also of the burning of London in 1666. Other physicians in Moscow had observed the same circumstance. With regard to agues, he said, he found them intimately connected with atmospheric changes, and one of the first things he thought of was restoring the secretion of the skin by the warm bath and other means. The liver and spleen often became diseased, if these fevers are allowed to run on unchecked, and he recommended strongly half a drachm of cinchona every two hours in water; some port wine, a light diet, and calomel and rhubarb to be occasionally administered. Dr. Keir was two years Dr. James Hamilton's clerk in the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, 1799 and 1800, and graduated there.

In the drive which I took to Sheremetoff's Hospital this morning, I had a good view of the town. The ground on which it stands is unequal, gently rising and falling. On all sides you see the spires and domes of churches, and immense

houses, white or green with gardens—at this season presenting the richest and most luxuriant appearance. Crowds of well-dressed people were proceeding to the churches to join the processions, this being a holyday. In some of the streets I saw wretched houses and people, but in general they bore an appearance of comfort. In the Nikitka, where I live, are several of the houses of the old nobility—Dolgorouky, Mackoff, &c. The Palace of Pashkoff presents from the Kremlin a most beautiful appearance. I visited the great riding-school at the gate of the Kremlin. At the base of the brick wall which surrounds the Kremlin on the north side, are the Imperial Gardens, where were numbers of people walking and reposing on the benches. The Kremlin is, I suppose, more than two versts in circumference. It is entirely surrounded by a wall of brick, with little turrets at the top. It encloses a great variety of churches, the Palace of Justice, the Arsenal, the Imperial Palace, and Public Offices of various descriptions.

The little river Moskwa is almost close to the wall on the south side, the road only intervening. It is a small sluggish stream. General Narishkin told me, that he was sent to the French Army as a *parlementaire*, and was taken prisoner about six versts from Moscow. One of the French officers

told him that orders had been given to blow up the Kremlin, and that the report of a cannon would be the signal for the explosions. A very short time afterwards the report of a cannon was heard, and it was succeeded afterwards by three tremendous explosions. The Arsenal, which was blown up by one of these, is now being rebuilt. In this country the people are forced into artificial classes, which do not exist in other countries, and those endless varieties so useful to the well-being of society and so ornamental to it, are prevented altogether from being formed. But while the state of vassalage exists, it is impossible that this country can ever become civilized in the true sense of the word. Education never can be extended to the serfs by their present proprietors, and if it were, they would ere long shake off the yoke. Even if the Emperor would permit this, there is not a sufficient degree of principle and good sense among the nobility to adopt and follow any general measure for the education of the mass of the people, which is absolutely necessary to any lasting improvement.

I observed to General Narishkin, that there must have been a combination of the nobles, merchants, and others, to set fire to the city. He said he had seen a letter from the intendant of a nobleman to Count Restopschin, expressing his

regret that the house of his master would not burn, though he had done all that was possible to set it on fire. It is very extraordinary that this transaction should still remain secret, seeing that it must have been entrusted to so many for its execution, and that its success warranted in some measure the exposure of all its details. The Russians never come within sight of a church without taking off their hats and making the sign of the cross. The postilion before mounting the coach-box does the same, and this is also done after meals. In the Kremlin I saw some persons before some pictures, placing their heads on the ground, then rising and crossing themselves with a fervour which was quite astonishing; they went on doing so until exhausted by fatigue.

24th. Thursday.—Still very weak from fever. In the evening I drove to the public gardens, called the Three Mountains, a short way out of Moscow. You descend a small hill to reach the garden. It was crowded with persons of every description. The Mougiks were drinking and gambling on a plain before the garden, and were as noisy as they usually are on such occasions. In the gardens, the people consisted chiefly of the middling classes, all well dressed; most of the young women painted, with large diamond ear-rings; pink dresses were the most common. Young

ladies of good complexion, and apparently in good health, had all their teeth black. I imagined at first that it must have been done on purpose. It is said to be the effect of the lead and other metals in the paint they use. This explanation was not satisfactory. In the gardens there are lakes and islands formed artificially. Along the sides of these were seated many a happy group, eating ice, and fruit, and the other delicacies of the season. I drove from this garden to the Kremlin, where they were performing vespers in two of the churches, and tolling the great bell in the tower of Ivan. In one of the churches the music was superior to any I had heard in Russia. The view of the city in the calm setting sun was truly enchanting.

25th. O.S.—Recovering slowly from fever. A very valuable copy of Hippocrates sent to me by Colonel Norroff as a present. Dr. Keir called upon me; he said he did not know of any case where an artery had been tied for aneurism at Moscow except one—a case of popliteal aneurism where the superficial femoral artery was tied with one ligature: it succeeded perfectly. Aneurism is rare here; at least he has seen few cases of it. The carotid, subclavian, external iliac, have never been tied, to his knowledge, at Moscow. He complained of the severity of the

winters, and of the injury to the constitution produced by several hours' exposure to the intense cold. M. Bachmeetoff stated that Russia was never in a worse condition; trade almost annihilated, and no money to be obtained for any kind of produce. The peasantry generally highly discontented, and almost ripe for revolt. The free peasants, those of the Crown, are in the worst condition. Their idea of freedom is, that they are to be exempted from paying all duties to the Crown!

In the evening I went to the Diebitchi Monastery, in the environs of Moscow. It is surrounded by a wall with turrets like the Kremlin. At each angle is a round tower, and square towers at short distances on the wall. A handsome church stands in the centre, with gilded domes, precisely similar to many of those in tho Kremlin. Around this church are many graves, and tombstones with inscriptions. On the right hand of the gate where you enter is the house where the sister of Peter the Great, Sophia, was shut up. This is a convent for ladies, but I saw none; and within the walls there were, besides the churches, only a few wretched low buildings. We drove a short distance farther, when we reached the river Moskwa. Crossing it, we ascended a hill on the opposite bank, from which we had a fine view of Moscow, the Dievitchi and

Donskoi monasteries, an old palace among the trees, near the river, on a height, and a great deal of the country around Moscow. The sun was going down. All the bells of the Kremlin and of the different churches were ringing, this being the birth-day of the Emperor Nicholas.

26th. Saturday.—Considerably recovered from fever. The public entrance of the Emperor will certainly take place on the 22nd July. As I have seen all the preparations for the Coronation, and heard a description of the various parts of the ceremony, I feel no disappointment in not witnessing it. Having seen the Coronation of George the Fourth, my imagination will supply readily what I have not seen here. This day I visited the building in the Kremlin where all the crowns of Russia, dresses, &c., of the former Tzars are kept; the crowns of Poland, Georgia, Kazan, Archangel, Lithuania, are ranged under glass covers around the room. A great quantity of gold and silver plate is here also displayed on shelves, and in glass cases are the various ornaments worn by the Emperors. The thrones are also disposed in the same apartment, and contain a large quantity of precious stones, superb turquoises; coronation chairs from Peter I; Museum of Antiquities; Imperial globe; the sceptre and ancient ornaments of the Tzars.

30th.—Quitted Moscow, and took the Kalouga road to return to the south of Russia. This journey occupied eight days and seven nights, but the fever did not return; on the contrary, I gained strength rapidly as I advanced to the south through the governments of Kalouga, Orel, Tchernigow, and Kief, to Biala Cerkiew. In all this line of road, 980 versts, I did not see one prosperous town or village, nothing like wealth or industry; but, on the contrary, starvation and rags in the midst of plenty; the tracteers and post horses wretched in the highest degree. Everywhere, as far as the eye could reach, these vast plains were covered with the richest crops of rye, and other grain, ready for the sickle.

14th July. Biala Cerkiew, near Kief, on the Dnieper.—I have heard nothing respecting the conspirators at St. Petersburgh; but it is more than probable that their doom will be sealed before the Coronation. It is not impossible that, for the sake of acquiring popularity, a pardon may be granted even to the most culpable—none of them having actually raised their hands against their sovereign. The Emperor having become popular from the manner in which he conducted himself on the 14th of December, may have acquired a taste for it, and will possibly, as an act of signal mercy, pardon most if not all the

individuals implicated. There is no doubt, if I may credit what has been stated to me on the best authority, that his Majesty is one of the most false characters that exists, and that he has a very unforgiving disposition. It is only the popularity he has acquired at his accession which has given him the disposition to that generous line of conduct which it is said he is pursuing. It is not natural to him, and it is feared that it will not continue during the whole of his reign. At present, the conspiracy appears to have had some effect upon him; but if once its influence should be lost, and his love of popularity pass away, his reign will be one of severity and persecution. The want of a free communication by water in Russia must retard its advancement. In such a vast empire there are only the rivers Neva, Volga, and Dwina, which afford a free communication with the interior. The Dniester, Dnieper, Don, and Bug, are not navigable to any great extent. One thing wanting to Russia is a simple good code of laws, and the honest administration of justice. Another is the liberation of the slaves, publicity of trials in courts of law, and freedom of the press. As things are, it is perfectly clear that ages must elapse before any great improvement take place upon the people of this country.

26th.—News arrived the day before yesterday,

from St. Petersburgh, that sentence has been pronounced and executed upon the individuals implicated in the late conspiracy. On the morning of the 13th, Pestel, Mouravieff, Ryleieff, Kakhofsky, and Bestoucheff Roumine, were hanged on a gibbet, on the rampart of the fortress, in a public manner. They all died with courage. On the same day, 120 of the prisoners were degraded by having their swords broken over their heads by the public executioner, and sent off to Siberia, where they are condemned to hard labour, some for their lives and others for twenty years—to perpetual exile. It is supposed that this part of the sentence, forced labour, will be remitted after the Coronation. The Emperor, it is said, did not specify the punishment to be inflicted, but left this to the commissioners, who ordered that those who have been hanged should be quartered. The Emperor commuted this horrible sentence into hanging, which is a new mode of inflicting death in Russia, and considered most degrading. They were, it is said, condemned to hang upon the gallows the greater part of the day, but their bodies were soon taken down after they were dead. There was no tumult nor disorder. It is reported that Pestel, in the hope of escaping, had become denunciator, and revealed the whole proceedings of himself

and his accomplices, and that Mouravieff and all the others did the same. Pestel, it is further said, affected agreat admiration for the character of the present Emperor. On account of his revelations, it is said, truly or falsely, that the guilt of all the others was clearly brought to light, and that he became the object of the hatred and contempt of all.

28th.—It is rumoured that the ropes by which Ryleieff and Mouravieff were suspended broke: the former was in a state of insensibility, but the latter remained conscious, and fell upon his feet. He supposed, it is said, that the rope was made weak on purpose to save him, and, in the hope of preserving his life, he shouted God save the Emperor and Russia!

5th August, o.s.—The fight between the regiment of Tchernigow and the other troops took place about ten versts from this place, Biala Cerkiew. Many of those who were made prisoners were brought into this village, and have been here ever since. A commission was appointed to try them, and 60 have been sentenced to be flogged. The punishment took place this morning, in a field close by this village, between 9 and 10 o'clock. 1,000 soldiers were drawn up in line, each with a small wand of the shoot of a nut tree, and the prisoners were passed along this line and received a switch from each soldier. I

did not arrive until the punishment had been inflicted, but I saw about 20 of those who had undergone the sentence. They looked pale, but all seemed gay, and some laughing aloud. They were in a small square, formed by soldiers with guns and bayonets, but all were standing, and all marched off the ground without assistance. Carts with straw were waiting to carry away those who might have been disabled. The surgeon of the regiment told me that it was not meant to be a severe punishment, as they had been seduced from their duty by their officers. A great number of Jews, men and women, were close to the scene of action, many of whom, indeed all, shewed their sympathy for the sufferers. The prisoners for the last four months have been stationed in the houses of the Jews, each with a soldier to guard him. A gibbet is to be erected at Vassilkoff, and all the officers of the regiment who took part in the revolt are to have their swords broken over their heads underneath it, and afterwards to be sent to Siberia for life. The names of those officers who belonged to the regiment and who have already received their sentences at Petersburgh, will be hung up upon this gibbet.

A French translation of the report of the Commission of Inquiry of St. Petersburgh, on the conspiracy and revolt of 1825, dated 30th May,

1826, was printed, and a copy presented to me by a military officer who had been some time a prisoner in the fortress. This official document was signed by Tatishcheff, Minister of War; Michael, Master of the Ordnance; Prince Galitzin, Privy Councillor; Golenistcheff Kutousoff, Military Governor of St. Petersburgh; Tchernycheff, General; Benkendorff, General; Levacheff, Aides-de-Camp Généraux; and countersigned Bloudoff, Councillor of State. In this report it is stated, that "almost invariably its conclusions have been based on the confessions of the detected themselves, or on documents written by their hand, regarding the depositions of their accomplices, and all other testimonies, as subsidiary means of conviction, or as simple indications of the course to be pursued in the examinations and ulterior inquiries." From this report it appeared "that in the year 1816 some young men returned from abroad after the campaigns of 1813, 1814, and 1815, and acquainted with the political tendency of several secret societies then existing in Germany, conceived the idea of establishing similar associations in Russia." In February, 1817, the first secret society was formed under the title of "*Union de Salut, or des Vraies et Fidèles Enfans de la Patrie.*" The leading members were Alexander and Nikita Mouravieff,

Prince Troubetzkey and Pestel, by whom the rules were drawn up. Four of the prisoners during the trial declared that "from the outset the object of this society was a change in the existing institutions of the Empire." Prince Troubetzkey affirmed, "that the principal subject of discussion when they met was the means for working out the good of the country; for co-operating towards the accomplishment of every useful design, if not by active exertion, at least by a strong expression of approval; for contributing to the repression of all abuses, by publishing every censurable act committed by *employés* undeserving of the national confidence; but principally for increasing the strength of their society by the acquisition of new members, whose talents and moral qualities should be proved by previous information, and who should even undergo some trial."

At this very time General Michael Orloff was occupied, in conjunction with Count Mamonoff and the Councillor of State Nicholas Torquenoff, in founding a society "the sole object of which should be to put an end to the exactions and other abuses which had crept into the internal administration of the empire, an intention which he proposed to submit for the approbation of His Imperial Majesty." "However his plans were

ineffective, and the association of which he had conceived the idea was never formed."

The first part of the regulations of the *Union du Bien Public* was discovered by the Commission, and contained in the Report, and is as follows: "The principal provisions of the *Code du Bien Public*, the division of subjects, the most remarkable ideas, and even to the very style, show an imitation and in great part a translation from the German. The authors declare, in the name of the founders of the association, that the good of the country is their sole object—that this object can have nothing contrary to the views of Government; that Government stood in need of the concurrence of individuals; that the society which they organized would be to it an auxiliary for effecting good; and that without concealing their intentions from citizens worthy of participating in them, they would pursue their labours in secret, solely to avoid the misrepre sentations of hatred and malevolence. The members were divided into four *sections* or *branches*. Each member was to inscribe himself in one of these sections, without, however, refusing to take any part in the labours of the others. The first section had for its object *philanthropy*, or the advancement of public and private benevolence. Its duty was to watch over all charitable institu-

tions, and to point out to the directors of such establishments, and also to Government itself, the abuses which might creep in, and the means for remedying them. The object of the second section was intellectual and moral education, the extension of enlightenment, the foundation of schools especially on the Lancasterian system, and generally a useful co-operation for the instruction of youth, by virtuous examples, by discourses and writings analogous to such views, as also to the ends of society. To the members of this second section the superintendence of all schools was confided. They were to inspire youth with the love of everything national, and to oppose as much as possible the notion of educating them abroad and all foreign influence. The third section was required to give especial attention to the proceedings of the tribunals. Its members engaged not to decline any judicial functions which might be offered to them by the choice of the nobility or by the Government; to fulfil such functions with zeal and precision; to observe carefully the progress of affairs of this nature; to encourage upright *employés*, even by granting them pecuniary aid; to strengthen in good principles those who might betray any weakness; to enlighten those who were deficient in information;

to denounce prevaricating functionaries, and to apprise Government of their conduct. Finally, the members of the fourth section were to devote themselves to the study of political economy; to attempt the discovery and the definition of the immovable principles of national wealth; to contribute to the development of all branches of industry; to strengthen public credit; and oppose monopolies."

In 1819 General Orloff, who had joined the *Union du Bien Public*, "sent in a written declaration to the effect, that he would no longer belong to the society, and firmly persisted in this determination notwithstanding the remonstrances and entreaties of his colleagues, yet subsequent to the trial in 1826 he was dismissed from the service, although it is not stated that he had any further connection with secret societies. At length, in the last days of February 1821, it was agreed at a general meeting that the Union should be dissolved; and Torquenoff, in his capacity of president, announced in the name of all the deputies assembled that the society was completely and unavoidably dissolved, "both on account of the difference of opinion shewn among the members, and in order not to rouse the suspicions of Government." Other societies were formed,

the object of all which it is stated in the Report was to "overthrow the existing order of things" by "the employment of an armed force."*

7th.—A Russian nobleman, who considers himself possessed of first-rate talents, predicted the ruin of Great Britain from steam-boats. He said Buonaparte would have succeeded in his invasion of England had steam-boats been in use at that time. I observed that the French had no coals upon the coast, and were prodigiously behind us in all respects in the construction of steam-engines. He replied, that a man with Buonaparte's resources could have brought coals from any distance, and would soon have become superior to us in the construction of steam-vessels. I replied that he had all the resources of France at his command, yet he could never equip a fleet

* On my return to England, January 1827, I presented a copy of this Report of the Commission of St. Petersburgh to the editor of the posthumous *Travels* (by my lamented friend James Webster, Esq.) *through the Crimea, Turkey, and Egypt,* and an English translation of this document was appended to the second volume of that work, published in 1830. It has been justly observed by a recent writer that this document was nothing but an indictment drawn up after a hasty inquiry carried on in secret, and had in itself no virtue of proof belonging to it. Doubtless a few of the individuals implicated in this conspiracy were animated with true patriotism, but if the report be not entirely false it is impossible to deny that the greater number of the accused were treacherous to one another, and guilty of perjury and treason to an amount of which it would be difficult to find a parallel in the history of any other European nation.

which had the least chance of subduing the fleets of Great Britain, even when Spain and Holland were joined to his navy.

9th.—Engaged in reading Karamsin's *History of Russia*, which presents a picture of superstition, treachery, and murder, such as cannot be equalled perhaps in the annals of any other country.

12th.—There can be no doubt, if general report is to be credited, that the nobility of this country are every year becoming more poor and depressed. In Russia there are at least forty millions of slaves. It is not supposed that the conspirators used any means to mislead the peasantry—they are sufficiently ripe for rebellion, and require no efforts of that kind. They are held in subjection by the army alone, many of the regiments being quartered throughout the country at convenient distances from the great villages, into which the slaves are congregated and kept unarmed. In a regiment of lancers at Moscow there has very lately been a serious disturbance, and the colonel was almost assassinated. This arose from the Grand Duke Michael ordering this regiment to be drilled every day. I have been told that the Emperor and the Grand Duke Michael are not enlightened men. They have no knowledge of the actual state of the country, and it is believed that the Emperor will not have the good sense to

call around him independent men—men of integrity. He is too jealous of his power to entrust any part of it to others. The cause of liberty is lost for a great period in this country, by the wretched conduct of the individuals who composed these secret societies, and by the unprincipled character of their proposals. Many were men actuated by the worst principles of French politics and morality, and they did not possess any of the courage in the time of danger which the French showed at the Revolution. Khahoffsky it is said wept like a child when condemned to death, and lamented the fate of his poor parents. Pestel behaved with courage, but became a denunciator, and told all that had passed between him and his associates, though sworn to secrecy by the laws of the society to which they belonged. Indeed Russia could have gained nothing by such men. A state of fearful anarchy would have been all that could have followed for a time, but out of this the slaves might have come with their chains broken from their necks. If the country remain long at peace, the population will increase and wealth will accumulate, and a middle class perhaps will slowly rise into existence. That for ages they will ever approach in civilization the other people of Europe is however extremely doubtful. It is impossible now to predict the fate of this country

more than it was at Taganrog last year. The death of the Emperor Nicholas might throw all into confusion. The foreign influence of Russia must have been considerably diminished by late events, and she will not again for a time play the same part in Europe that she formerly did. In Asia it is probable she will still further extend her conquests, especially in Persia, where General Yermoloff, on the frontier, has been extremely busy, if reports are true, in provoking war, and now Russian troops in large bodies are proceeding to the Caucasus. The greater part of the higher classes—I mean the proprietors of land and slaves—are utterly disqualified by their ignorance, gross prejudices, and superstition, from introducing a better order of things into the country. There are few of them who know even the first principles of politics, political economy, or ethics; and some of them will attempt to draw a comparison between the Government during the Roman republic and the constitutional Government of Great Britain, and even prefer the former. I have enquired wherever I have gone whether any proprietors actually resided upon their estates, and devoted their time to the improvement and happiness of the slaves, but have heard scarcely of one. I have asked an individual who knows this country well to point out to me the pro-

prietors whom he considered exceptions to the above description. The only individuals on whom he fixed were Count Woronzow, who has not yet been able to reside upon his estates, and Col. Poniatowsky, and a few foreigners settled in the country. He was forced to admit that the improvement of the condition of the slaves entered into the consideration of very few. There is not a school at this place except among the Jews: none of the peasants can either *read or write, except the intendants.* At four years of age I was told the education of the children of the Jews commences, and in all the towns and villages the education of their children is conducted upon a regular system, and rabbins or schoolmasters are supported by a society established for that express purpose. Every Jew is at least able to read the Old Testament; but forty millions of Christians in Russia, who have been baptised, are unable to read the Scriptures either of the Old or New Testament, and have no bibles if they could read!

On my arrival at Biala Cerkiew from St. Petersburgh, 11th July, I received the following letter from an English gentleman who had been travelling in Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, for the purpose of acquiring knowledge and seeing Europe. He is the nephew of Lady ——, is about to enter the Church, and has a rectory awaiting

him in Gloucestershire. He came to Taganrog when I was there, but I first became acquainted with him at Admiral Greig's, at Nicolaef, and afterwards saw him at Odessa.

"Vienna, June 11th.

"My dear Sir,—When we parted at Odessa I said I would write you a line from Vienna, and though the time is somewhat long ago I should be sorry not to fulfil my word. Myself, my courier, and the Count's fish arrived at Berdicheff without accident, though the weather was so cold that both my wine and my beef were reduced to ice. I stopped two or three days at several towns in Poland, in order to see the manners of the country, and more particularly of the Jews, their music, their marriages, the circumcision, or, as my courier comically called it, '*o sichristen die Jews.*' I got through the rascals at Radzirilloff for sixteen roubles, which I was told afterwards was less than most people managed it for. At Olmütz I fell in with Prince Ferdinand of Austria, on his way back from Russia, after various upsets, as people usually meet with in Russia, which not even his royalty could protect him from—I say this on the authority of his cook and courier, not having the honour of His Highness's acquaintance. I staid at Vienna for six weeks, and after being well entertained for

that time, set out for that miserable country, Hungary; a country with every production of nature, wines, grain, cattle, metals, &c., but without any earthly means of turning them to advantage. Austria discourages them, and their other neighbours, the Russians and Turks, are of little use to them: they are just stuck between the frying-pan and the fire. I am now returned to Vienna; and to-morrow start for the Tyrol, and then to Munich. When I left Odessa you intended to visit the Empress at Taganrog. I have since heard that she is dead. Of course the Russian doctors say that you poisoned her. At all events get away as fast as you can to some country where good intentions and labours are better rewarded.

"And believe me, your's sincerely,

"—— ——

"P.S. If you should send me a line direct to Vienna, where I return at the end of August. I wish to know two things which I forgot to inquire when I was in the Crimea; whether it was owing to the stupidity of the Tartar or Russian Government that they have no boats; and whether there is any difference between the religion of the Tartar Jews and the other Jews. I suppose certainly not; but some one asserted to me the other day that there was. Tell me any news you

know from St. Petersburgh or Moscow. What is to become of all the state prisoners?"

The following was my reply:

Biala Cerkiew, 1st August, O.S., 1826.

Dear Sir,—On arriving here from Petersburgh, about three weeks ago, it gave me great pleasure to receive your letter of the 11th June, and to be assured that your own health and that of your courier, had not suffered by the cold and fatigue of the long journey from Odessa to Vienna. I am sorry that my information respecting the black Jews is so imperfect, but such as it is I shall state to you. Their Bible is the same as that of the common Jews, but the Karaites reject entirely the Talmuds, and they have different forms of prayer. At what period they separated from the common mass of Israelites is not clearly ascertained, but it must have been many centuries ago. In consequence of their long residence among the Tartars, they have contracted many of the habits of Eastern nations, and particularly that of making their women live in a state of seclusion. A work I understand has been published on this sect in Russia, a copy of which a friend promised to send to me from Odessa, but it has not yet arrived. I shall endeavour to procure it when I go there two weeks hence, and if there is any interesting information in it, I

shall not fail to take extracts of it, and transmit them to you. The town which they occupy in the Crimea was a Genoese fortress, and when these were driven from it by the Tartars they ceded the town to these Jews, whom they found very useful in managing their commerce. When in the Crimea, I had expressed to Count Woronzow my astonishment that the Tartars on the coast should not betake themselves to fishing, as a means of supplying what nature had denied to them, a supply of animal food. The Government, I understood, had neither encouraged nor prevented them from establishing fisheries, but it was said that the quarantine laws, which forbid all boats going more than a verst from the land, without a police officer or guard on board, had a bad effect in checking them. I recollect an observation made one day at dinner by some one bearing on this point. It was, "We have been compelled to violate the quarantine laws, in order to have a supply of fish for our table to-day." These laws might prevent the establishment of great fisheries certainly, yet I think we are to attribute much to the natural apathy of the Tartar, and his dislike for maritime affairs. The Greeks at Balaclava and Kerche, have great fisheries, though equally under the influence of these laws, by which they supply not only their

own families, but the interior of the country. In the first volume of Dr. Clarke's Travels there are some observations worthy of attention respecting the Karaites. He found some very ancient MSS. of the Bible at Kchufut Kali, which he says had been brought from the East. I have just been informed that all these MSS. are written by Polish Jews, but I do not know if this is a fact, as I suppose all these Bibles and books are printed and not written (I bought a MSS. copy of the Koran in the Crimea, and was told a printed copy did not exist). I have some little doubt also as to their Bible being the same as that of the others, but I have no means at present of resolving this doubt.*

* 26 August.—I went into a Jewish Synagogue here, to witness the performance of the rite of circumcision, and found the house crowded with Jews. Each had a small box upon his forehead, containing the Ten Commandments, and this was attached to his left wrist by a leathern cord, as I once saw in the case of a Turk travelling from Lyons to Marseilles. In reading the prayer, the head was covered usually with a thin cloth with broad black stripes. This they called a Talus. Their Bible began as ours with the five books of Moses, and ended with Ezekiel. The minor prophets were not admitted into their canonical books. The child was brought in upon a pillow bent on each side, and fixed in this like a cradle. There were three priests who took part in the ceremony; the eldest, a venerable-looking man, with a long white beard, sat down on a chair, and took the child on his knees; a second rabbin applied a bandage round the thighs. The operation was performed with a short razor, which was put into his hand by the third priest, after all the relations of the child had touched its handle. The priest then took the

In consequence of some disinclination on the part of Her Imperial Majesty's physician, my visit to Taganrog did not take place as I expected when I saw you; but was deferred until Her Majesty should have arrived at Kalonga, where she was to have resided, and where I was to have gone in returning to the South. Her death at Bieleff deranged the whole scheme, and saved me from the blame I should probably have incurred from the generous and enlightened individuals around her, for at least hastening her dissolution. It was disease of the heart, but its nature was unknown till after her death. I left Odessa about the end of March, and proceeded after a short halt at this place, which is about eighty

razor in his right hand, and after other means had been employed, made the necessary incision. The third priest immediately applied his mouth to the wound, and sucked the blood for a short time, and then dashed all over the parts a large handful of finely powdered oak bark. The child was then covered as before with the clothes, and was removed to the side of a huge ark or chest, with curtains before it, before which the priest recited some prayers, and then gave the name to the child, putting some liquid to its forehead. It was stated that the Karaite Jews admit only the five Books of Moses. All the others they entirely reject. This was the whole of the ceremony. I was told that if a child dies before the eighth day, it is considered as a great calamity. In the church-yard before placing it in the grave, the operation is done, but with a piece of glass. Circumcision is always performed among the Jews on the eighth day, whereas with Mahommedans it is often not done till a later period, fourteen or even sixteen years. The mother and female relatives were in an apartment adjoining during the ceremony.

versts S.W. of Kief, with the Count to St. Petersburgh. The snow was in the act of dissolving, so that we had the most formidable journey I have yet made in this detestable country. We proceeded by Kief to Petersburgh, through the Western Governments. I saw nothing which deserved observation. *Misère, trois fois misère,* but above all, this was apparent in the provinces which once appertained to free and independent Poland. At St. Petersburgh I spent my time agreeably and usefully in visiting the hospitals, churches, palaces and institutions of all sorts. I arrived there when the fine weather began, and nothing could exceed the richness of the vegetation, which all at once succeeded to the severity of the long winter. In the public papers you will see what has been the fate of the individuals implicated in the late conspiracy: five hanged—120 degraded and sent for life to work in the mines of Siberia, the rest to remain a certain time in the fortress, or to be sent into remote garrisons for years. It is possible that the punishment may be mitigated after the coronation. The murderers of the Emperor's father were treated more mercifully than these unfortunate men, a few of whom undoubtedly had the welfare of their country honestly at heart. Upon the whole, St. Petersburgh has not left any very favourable impression on my mind.

It was dull in the highest degree: this was no doubt partly owing to the peculiar circumstances of the times, there being few families who were not more or less interested in the proceedings of the commission which was then sitting. I was much more pleased with Moscow, which I visited on my way to this place. The view of the city from the tower of Ivan Veliki, is one which it is impossible ever to forget, and I can imagine now that I hear the sound of all the bells of Moscow, as I heard them on a beautiful calm summer evening of a holyday, from the heights near the Dievitchi Monastery. My opinion of this country is not changed; on the contrary, it is gradually becoming more and more unfavourable, and you may be assured that I will not fail to follow your kind advice as soon as I possibly can. Indeed, there is no doubt now that the Count Woronzow will proceed to England about the beginning of October, if the affairs of Turkey are satisfactorily arranged at Akerman with the Turkish Commissioners by that time, and it is extremely probable that we shall be at Vienna before the end of October, and in England soon after. Is there no hope of our meeting you in crossing Germany? If there is not, I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you on your arrival in London

after you have finished your travels, when you shall have bid adieu to this vagabond life, and entered upon the noblest duty of which we are capable in this world, that of consoling and instructing the poor and afflicted. If you should not be likely to fall in with us on our journey to England, I should be happy to hear from you before you quit Vienna, and to learn some particulars of your excursion to the Tyrol and Bavaria. I have been obliged to remain here some time, in consequence of my professional services being required for the children of the Count, his eldest son being indisposed. I expect to be able to set out for Odessa in two weeks to join His Excellency, who is now at Akerman as one of the Russian Plenipotentiaries.

I am, yours, &c.

14th August.—A war has actually broken out between Russia and Persia. The dispute arose about the frontier line. The Persians commenced the war by passing this line, and attacking a Russian regiment and seizing all the baggage. Colonel Nicholas Rajewsky [now General Rajewsky] sets out immediately for the Caucasus, having obtained permission from the Emperor to go thither. General Yermoloff is looked up to by all the military men of Russia, and is con-

sidered one of their best generals. 24,000 soldiers have been sent to the Caucasus.

18th.—The war against Persia is more serious than was supposed. The Persian army of 60,000 men has entered the Russian provinces near Erivan, with the view of separating the provinces to the eastward, formerly conquered from Persia, from connexion with the Russians, and exciting the inhabitants to take part against the Russians. The troops are already marching towards the Caucasus, and it is expected that there will be a smart struggle, though there is no fear of the result being favourable to Russia, and of its ending in the extension of this already over extended empire. All believe that General Yermoloff, by his irritating conduct during the last ten years, has excited this war, that he might have an opportunity of displaying his great military talents. These are represented to be of the first order. He and Count Woronzow are considered the greatest military geniuses of this country. There were some English officers at one time to discipline the Persians, but they have all quitted the country. The Shah, who is represented to be a most avaricious man, would not keep his engagements with them. The termination of the conferences at Akerman has taken place. The demands of the Russian Government

are not known, but the Turks have received until the 25th September to consider them. They have been forwarded to Constantinople. Should the Turks refuse to comply with these demands, war will be the consequence after all, and this appears by no means improbable, though it is more likely when the time has expired that the terms will be accepted, and peace preserved. There can be no doubt that in Russia a love of military glory is the prevailing passion of the great majority of the nobility. It is possible, therefore, that she may make still greater conquests, but nothing ever will be consolidated by the Russians. Such a band of unprincipled men would speedily disorganize the best established institutions.

6th Sept.—The Russian Government professes to be ignorant of the true cause of the war with Persia, and unable to tell whether it has been commenced by the order of the Schah or not, or whether it is not merely an irruption of some bodies of brigands. Prince Menschikoff was most kindly treated by the Prince Royal of Persia. Satisfaction has been demanded for this insult of the Shah; and, if this be not granted, hostilities will be immediately commenced against Persia.

12th. Sunday.—Last evening I was introduced to Colonel Grabe, a military officer of reputation, a native of Courland; tall, handsome, of a commanding appearance, but with soft and polished

manners, and a voice so agreeable, with so great a fluency of expression, that, had he been in a free country, it was my conviction that he would have been distinguished for his eloquence. He was attached some years ago to the Embassy at Munich, entered the army afterwards, and distinguished himself greatly in the war of 1812. He was esteemed very highly by the late Emperor, but, from some dispute with a Russian general, an intrigue was formed against him, and he was some time in a state of exile at Yaroslaff. Known to be a man of high talent, and denounced by some of the conspirators, he was arrested and conveyed to the fortress at St. Petersburgh. He was examined by the Emperor, and declaring upon his honour that he did not belong to the plot, his sword was immediately restored to him. It appeared, however, that he was subsequently denounced by some person as having belonged to the first secret society formed in Russia in 1817, and he was again arrested and examined. He at once acknowledged that this was the case, but renewed the assertion, that he had nothing whatever to do with the Pestel plot. For concealing the fact that he had belonged to the first society, he was sent to a fortress to undergo two months' imprisonment. These proceedings produced such an effect upon his wife, then enceinte, that a

dangerous accident soon occurred, and I saw her professionally in a hopeless condition. Here, I have witnessed, in different families, the dreadful evils resulting from political revolutionary schemes to private families and individuals.

9th October, Odessa.—Our departure for England is fixed for Thursday next. News of a considerable victory over the Persians, near Hanja, and the prospect of their complete route. They behaved in the most cowardly manner. It is clear that the present opportunity is a most favourable one to seize upon the whole country north of the Araxes, and that it will not be let slip by the Russians. Thus this already overgrown and unwieldy mass will be still further extended towards the East, and may give an impulse to the acquisition of still more important conquests in that direction. It is probably for the good of mankind that this should take place, and that the Mahommedan governments, which hitherto have always been purely despotic, and which never have admitted of even a moderate degree of civilization, should give place to a Christian government, which in its turn, with the advancement of knowledge, will be compelled to rid itself of the gross ignorance, superstition, and tyranny, which now envelop the Russian Government. The Turkish Commissioners arrived here from Akerman to-

night. To-morrow they dine with Count Woronzow, and a ball is to be given to them in the evening. Three Englishmen have also arrived here, General Whitehead, Mr. Grosvenor and Sir Charles Mallet. At dinner I met M. Castiglione of Milan, who has passed many years in Egypt, and who quits this to-morrow for Constantinople; from thence he proceeds to Alexandria and then to Sennaar. He related much that was interesting respecting Egypt, its antiquities, religion, police, and the improvements introduced by the present Pasha under the influence of M. Drovett and the forty French officers employed in the service of the Pasha.

11th.—This morning I was informed by Count Woronzow, that Ibrahim and Hadgi Effendi, the Turkish Commissioners, wished to consult me professionally respecting some complaints to which they are subject. The eldest, Hadgi, aged 66 or more, immediately on my entering the apartment stretched out his arm that I might feel his pulse. I did so, and found it 78, upon which I told him he had no febrile disease. He was suffering from dyspepsia, the consequence of the abuse of opium, coffee, and tobacco, and wine, &c. in private, if the report of the dragoman was to be believed. He admitted that he drank ten cups of coffee every day. When abstinence was

recommended of every kind, the other plenipotentiary laughed aloud, and said it was impossible Hadgi could comply with my advice. He enquired if I had studied anatomy, and when he found I had, and that I considered it to be the basis of all medical science, and that I never allowed an opportunity to pass without making post-mortem examinations to discover the seat and nature of disease, Hadgi said it was very good practice indeed. He enquired if I took notes of my cases. I answered, that I took notes of all my cases, and of all passing events in Russia. We then adjourned to breakfast, the two plenipotentiaries, the two dragomans, and myself. The breakfast consisted of chicken, soup, eggs, and meat. They all drank English porter in considerable quantities. After breakfast we all rose from table. A servant came and kneeled down, and presented to each ambassador a basin and decanter of water, and a towel, with which they washed their hands. When the operation was finished, the second plenipotentiary, Ibrahim, took me by the hand and led me into the sitting apartment, where a consultation was held respecting his own health. After this they went to the port, and embarked on board a steam-boat belonging to Admiral Greig, under a salute from a frigate in the roads and another small vessel. This was the first

occasion on which their Excellencies had ever been on board a steam vessel. They continued sailing about for an hour, and then returned. Ibrahim begged the dragoman to inform me, that he knew that the steam engine was invented by an Englishman, and that his name was Watt. In the evening they went to the opera, when La Cenerentola was played. They smoked in the middle of the opera, and seemed highly pleased. A Turkish translation of the opera had been prepared for them, which they held in their hands during the performance.

The next morning I again visited their Excellencies, and had the honour of breakfasting with them. In the evening a ball was given by the Countess Woronzow on the occasion. They did not seem to enjoy it so much as they did the opera. Between the windows of the chief saloon was placed by the Russian Plenipotentiary a painting of Turkish trophies, surmounted by a crescent, in the middle of which, in Arabic, from the Koran, were the words—*Peace is always more advantageous than war!** The ball was followed

* On the 5th of April, 1826, a note was presented by M. de Minziaky at Constantinople to the Ottoman Government, complaining that the treaties between Russia and Turkey were violated by the Turks. These complaints referred especially to Moldavia and Wallachia, and Servia. The Turkish Government was accused, in an angry tone, as having violated the promises

by a supper, and the whole went off in the best possible manner. After midnight the Honourable Mr. Grosvenor and Sir Charles Mallett arrived, and the former, a tall handsome young man in a hussar dress, soon joined in the dance. He was much admired by all the ladies. It appears that war is eagerly desired by the mass of the people here, and particularly by the Greeks; and in consequence of the pacific termination of the conferences of Akerman, Count Woronzow is become unpopular. The Countess Edlin, sister of M. Stourdza, I was told, would not come to the ball, because it was given to the Turks.

made through Lord Strangford. M. Minziaky threatened to leave Constantinople in six weeks, and that war would immediately follow, unless Turkish Plenipotentiaries were sent to negotiate with Russian Commissioners in some town on the frontiers of Russia. Akerman was fixed upon for these conferences, and Count Woronzow and M. Ribeaupierre were the Russian Plenipotentiaries, and Baron Brunow was their secretary. The convention between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, explanatory of the Treaty of Bucharest, was signed at Akerman, the 25th September (7th October), 1826. The questions discussed were—1, the restoration of certain Asiatic fortresses on the Black Sea; 2, the free navigation of that sea by the Russian flag; 3, the repayment to Russia of losses sustained by her subjects from the Barbary Corsairs, amounting, it was said, to a million sterling; 4, the internal government of Moldavia and Wallachia. Turkey yielded to all the demands made upon her, however injurious to her interests. In 1828, Persia being crushed, Russia thought the text from the Koran might be conveniently altered into, "War is always more advantageous than peace," and war with Turkey followed accordingly.

17th.—I leave Odessa, for the last time, with regret, having experienced invariably the greatest kindness from all with whom I have become acquainted, or with whom I have had any communication, professionally or otherwise.

18th. Nicolaef.—We remained here to dinner, and set out at nine at night, in the midst of a heavy rain and pitchy darkness. I learned that there were at this time fifteen sail of the line in the Black Sea, a large number of frigates, all manned and ready for active service. With such a fleet and army, and while the Ottoman Empire continues in such a state of decline, it is clear that the slightest collision between it and Russia might soon lead to its entire overthrow, and to the subversion of the present order of things in Europe. With the command of the Black Sea, Russia can always maintain an immense influence over Persia; any number of troops being with facility, in eight or ten days, transported from the Crimea to the Caucasus. Many young Russian officers now express an earnest desire for the complete conquest of Persia; and it is obvious that this would not be accompanied with much difficulty.

2nd November. Biala Cerkiew. — To-morrow morning, at 6 A.M., we set out for England. The roads, in consequence of the rain, sleet, and snow

that had fallen, were almost impassable from the depth of the mud. The following day this was converted by the frost into a solid mass. We reached Berdichieff, 160 versts from Biala Cerkiew, late in the evening, without any other accident than the breaking of one of the springs of our calèche.

At Squira, 21½ versts from Biala Cerkiew, we found a regiment of hussars. The face of the country, peasants, and roads to Berdichieff and Radzivilloff, continued the same as in the government of Kief. The land in general is naturally rich in an extraordinary degree in all parts: I was told everywhere capable of yielding eight or ten for one. Berdichieff is a large town, where the population, consisting chiefly of Jews, appear more active and in better circumstances than in many towns in the south of Russia. From thence to Zytomir is two posts, where we spent the second night. This is a district town, but much inferior in size to Berdichieff, though paved, and containing many respectable houses. I was informed here that every male Jew pays annually 10 roubles to the Russian Government. Every man who has a house, besides this poll tax, must pay taxes for mending roads, and other imposts, to the amount of 25 roubles a year. Besides, every house is valued, and for this value a

certain per-centage is required. Russians pay the same as the Jews. Where recruits are taken, the Jews then pay a certain sum for this; the sum is 3 roubles each Jew. In this town the poll tax is paid in the following manner:—A rich Jew furnishes all the meat, &c., at a certain price, fixed at the beginning of each year, and all the Jews are obliged to buy from him; and he for this privilege pays the poll tax for each individual to the Government. Thus the poor, who are not in a condition to pay, have the tax discharged by their richer brethren. Such was the account I received. In the cabins of the peasants in this country, and in the Ukraine, there is little or no furniture; no chairs: but instead, there is a bench of wood round the walls of the house. On the stove there is a smooth place on which they sleep during the winter; and from this to the opposite wall a platform is formed of deals, on which the family generally pass the night. No bed-clothes; no sheets nor pillows. Some of the rich have pillows, but no sheets; they lie upon and cover themselves with their shoobs, which are made of sheep-skins. The houses generally are well heated. On the Steppe they burn borean, or common weed; where there are no weeds nor wood, they burn straw, or cakes of cow's dung. In regard to their habits and food;

they all rise early, and all wash their hands and faces, and then turn to their pictures or images and say their prayers in a low voice. They all sleep with their clothes on; all change their shirts once a week; and in Russia Proper the bath is common. The diet of the peasants of the Ukraine is good. The breakfast consists of salted cucumber, and anything which has remained over from the day before; if there is nothing, bread and cucumber compose the breakfast, and in summer it consists of fruit. The dinner is composed of millet made into gruel, into which is put during their fasts hemp oil. On other days pieces of the fat of bacon are mixed in it, and it is then considered an excellent dish. Rye bread is used in great quantities; during some holydays wheaten bread. Previous to a fast, great exertions are made to buy a pig to make a luxurious meal before the time of privation commences. The same effort is made when the fast is concluded. Dried fish from the Don is much used, and great quantities are obtained from the rivers and lakes of the country. Potatoes are cultivated by some of the peasants of the Ukraine, but they are confined to their gardens; and during all the different journeys that I have made in the south of Russia, I have never seen the potatoe cultivated in the field. In fact, this plant does not form an

article of food. The turnip is nearly unknown in all parts of the Russian Empire. Artificial grasses are equally rare.

5th.—In the evening we reached Novograd Wolinsky, in Volhynia, a district Polish town, but one of the most miserable I ever visited. We travelled during the whole of the night and following day, and arrived at Doubno on the evening of the 6th, where all dined, and set forward to Radziviloff, near the Austrian frontier, which we reached at one o'clock in the morning. I was informed that Doubno was once a flourishing town. The Government contracts were once held here, and the circumstance, if truly stated, which led to their removal to Kief, is worthy of notice. This town belongs to the Prince Lubomirsky, who derived a great revenue from the contracts. The Emperor Paul knowing this, wished to purchase the estate; but the Prince refused to sell it, stating as a reason that he derived a great revenue from his possessions. Paul said, if you do not sell it, I will cut off this revenue from you, and immediately ordered the contracts to be held at Kief, a Government town. Doubno is now in a state of misery, of which it is difficult to form an idea: a wretchedly poor population; the houses being generally half unroofed.

7—19. Austria.—We left Brody at 6 A.M.—We had no sooner quitted this town than we entered upon an excellent *chaussée* of moderate breadth, Macadamized, and equal in all respects to many of the best roads in England; such a road as I had not seen in any part of the Russian empire which I had traversed. Nothing could be more striking than the change we immediately perceived on entering the Austrian territory. The villages along the road-side bore an aspect of prosperity and cleanliness, which did not exist even in the most flourishing towns and villages of Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine. The agriculture appeared to be far superior to anything seen in Russia, the fields being carefully ploughed, and in many parts manure applied as in the best agricultural districts of England. The people had an appearance of comparative ease and contentment. As we passed along the road we met numbers of large wagons, drawn by eight or more horses, carrying merchandise of different sorts from Vienna to Brody; and one of the circumstances marking the difference between even these two most despotic governments of Europe, was the sudden, almost total, disappearance of military uniforms, of guns and bayonets. The peasants of Gallicia are still attached to the soil, and may be transferred along with it from one proprietor

to another; but these sales are regulated by the extent of the land, and not by the number of human [immortal] souls existing upon the estates. In Russia, the value of an estate is estimated according to the number of peasants belonging to the land; and accordingly the Russian nobility talk of the value of souls, not of their acres of ground, as in all other Christian countries. *Combien d'âmes?* is the common question when inquiring as to the value of an estate. The Austrian Government does everything which is possible to protect the peasants from all injurious or unjust treatment on the part of their lords. Nothing can be more certain than the fact, that the Austrian part of Poland has made rapid progress in improvement since the partition, while the Russian part has been stationary, if it has not actually retrograded, and become more poor and debased since that event.

We reached Lemberg late in the evening. We found the Count Araktcheieff in the same hotel, *but he had retired to rest before our arrival, at least he pretended to be in bed, and the Count Woronzow and he did not see each other.**

* Count Araktcheieff, the Grand Vizier, "the peerless servant," or evil genius of the Emperor Alexander, had left St. Petersburgh in June, having obtained leave to travel from Nicholas, with a gratuity of 50,000 roubles. In March, 1827, it is stated

We set out after supper from Lemberg, and travelled all the night and following day, and the evening of the 8th slept at Jaroslaw, two posts from Lancut.

9th. Lancut.—This is a handsome château belonging to Count A. Potocki. The proprietor is said to have a decided taste for English manners, agriculture, &c. The park and gardens were all laid out in the English style, but the weather being very cold, and the ground partially covered with snow, I did not see them. The château was of a quadrangular form, with a square in the centre, like Holyrood-house. There were many pictures, but few of much value. The ladies were all indisposed, so that at dinner no female appeared except the governess of the children. There were several Polish Counts present, and a number of gentlemen whose rank and names I did not know. A custom prevailed here which I had nowhere observed in the whole course of my

by a recent German writer, that a revision of the horrible proceedings, which took place at Grousino, connected with the murder of Araktcheieff's mistress, was ordered by Nicholas. "On crossing the French frontier Araktcheieff's insolence drew upon him a reprimand from one of the employés of the Custom House, and caused Charles X to refuse him an audience. In a few months he returned to Russia, and resigned himself to his fate, not without causing it to be understood that he possessed the means of avenging his disgrace, by publishing the letters which he had received from Alexander.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

travels, and formed no part of English manners. At the foot of the table wine only was allowed to circulate of the most common quality, and when dinner was over, glasses with water for the fingers, &c., were brought to those at the top of the table, while all who had the misfortune to be at the opposite extremity were obliged to quit the table with unwashed hands.

10th.—At dinner there was the same distinction of persons and wines. I learned from a Polish Count that the taxes were paid to the Government according to the value of the estates, or the rent actually received by the landlord. He said it was agreed by all that the imposts were most oppressive. A proprietor with a revenue of 400 ducats a year is compelled to pay at least 250 for taxes. The officers of the Government were all Germans. No Poles were employed in official situations, and all the Polish regiments were sent to Hungary, Italy, Bohemia, and other distant provinces, while their place was supplied by German troops. The Polish nobility, I was informed, were not forced to serve in the army unless they chose. The German language was employed in all the legal proceedings, and even in common conversation it was rapidly supplanting the Polish, and he thought would before long extinguish it altogether.

The climate of Gallicia he represented to be almost the same as that of the Ukraine, extremely cold in winter and hot in summer. The productions of the soil nearly the same. The wheat produced in Gallicia was chiefly transported, he said, by the Vistula to Dantzic; large navigable branches of this river intersecting the whole country. The peasants, he said, were greatly addicted to drunkenness, as in the Ukraine, and not much better educated. Schools had formerly been established for their instruction, but during the last few years they had been wholly suppressed, as I told him they had been in Russia. The Austrian Government, he said further, had taken most effectual means to prevent all unjust and tyrannical treatment of the peasants by their masters. The whip was here unknown as a stimulus to labour. If a peasant was guilty of bad conduct, the master could not punish him himself. The culprit must be taken before an officer of the Government, whose duty it was to judge of the nature of the offence, and to award the punishment. I did not learn whether any systematic plan had been adopted for the emancipation of the slaves by the Austrian Government. In one village between Lemberg and Lancut we had found a regiment which had been stationed eleven years. In Russia changes were much more frequent, to

prevent the soldiers from becoming too intimately acquainted with the peasants.

11th.—At dinner a princess inquired seriously whether the water of the Black Sea was actually of a blacker colour than the water of all other seas, and if it was possible to get to Odessa by sea except through the straits of Constantinople, and if Odessa was the name of a Greek town. Enquiries were also made about the fishes taken out of the Black Sea, and about the truth of the report fully credited by the Cossacks of the Don, that there is a race of horses of peculiar excellence, which take their origin from the Black Sea. A distinguished Cossack general at Taganrog, I told the princess, had certainly assured Baron Brunow that there could be no doubt of this, that there were horses in the Black Sea, for a gentleman worthy of all credit had assured him of the fact, which he fully believed.

We reached Vienna on the 21st. Respecting the country between Lancut and Vienna, I made few observations. At Bieltzy, a large town on the frontiers of Gallicia and Silesia, there were extensive manufactures of cloth, and every sign of an active thriving population. The German language, dress, &c., prevailed at this town, and it was here we lost sight, at the same time, of the Polish Jew and slave. The women of the

lower classes all wore red stockings, with petticoats hardly reaching the knees. The men had large round hats with broad brims, blue jackets, with rows of metal buttons. Booths or stalls of wood were arranged in the market-place for a fair to be held here. In the great square was the public market, and it was crowded during the day with buyers and sellers of all descriptions. At Techen, another considerable Silesian town, we arrived on the day of a great fair. Hats, clothes, pictures, books, &c., were exposed for sale, and the people, men and women, from the country, were engaged in buying them. The women wore red stockings, short petticoats with a border, and a jacket of leather of a buff colour, with the wool remaining on the inside, and applied to their bodies. These jackets were trussed up behind, so as to form a great projection like a basket across the back. Over this was thrown a great white coarse linen sheet, which covered also the head, and was brought under the chin. They were healthy, cheerful, and apparently in easy circumstances, but few of them were good-looking, and almost all of them of a small stature. We proceeded by the ordinary route of Olmütz and Brünn to Vienna. Most of the Silesian towns were entirely built in the form of regular quadrangles, and had arcades similar to those in

Italy, under which the different wares were exposed for sale. In passing through Olmütz, a place very strongly fortified, I went to see the theatre. The play on the evening before our arrival was King Lear. In the saloon I saw several English prints; one of Lavinia and her mother, from *Thomson's Seasons.* Another of Auld Robin Gray and Jenny, with the following lines underneath:—

> "The summer it was smiling, all nature round was gay,
> When Jenny was attending on auld Robin Gray,
> For he was sick at heart, and had no friend beside
> But only me, poor Jenny, who newly was his bride.
> O Jenny! I shall die, he said, as sure as I have breath,
> Then see my poor old bones, I pray, laid into the earth."

Nothing could surpass in beauty the country from Brünn to Vienna, particularly from Nicolsbourg. There was a broad valley skirted to the north and south by picturesque ranges of low mountains covered with vines. The valley itself was chiefly occupied with corn. The country was populous. At the distance of every two or three miles on the slopes and in this valley, were large wealthy villages, each with a church and spire. The crowds of heavy laden wagons continued all the way to Vienna. Everywhere from Bielitz to Vienna, and on almost every bridge was a statue of one or more of the apostles, or

some sturdy Roman Catholic priest. Everything gave proof that I was in a Catholic and bigoted country, not excepting the swarms of beggars who are usually found in countries similarly situated. The approach to Vienna from Moravia presented nothing striking.

22—4th Dec. Vienna, Hotel of the Empress of Austria.—This morning I visited the manufactory of porcelain. It presented nothing equal to the porcelain made at Paris; indeed it did not appear in a high state of perfection. There were several mirrors exhibited, each of which was valued at 1000 florins *en argent.* From this I went to the gallery of Prince Lichtenstein, where there were 17 pictures by Guido, 13 by Salvator Rosa, 6 great paintings by Rubens of the Roman consul Decius, and paintings by him altogether amounting to 36; 34 by Van Dyke, 2 by Raphael, Michael Angelo 2, Rembrandt 7, Titian 4, Andrea del Sarto and Paul Veronese 5. The length of the great saloon was 78 feet, the breadth 66, and the height was represented to be equal to the length. The paintings on the ceiling above the cornices represented the labours of Hercules, those on the ceiling Olympus. These were executed by Pozzo, an Italian painter, and the saloon itself by Martinelli of Bologna. The proportions were beautiful. The staircase was of great

breadth, and was formed of marble from the mountains near Saltzbourg. Each step, at least twelve feet or more in length, was composed of a single block of marble. The balustrade, which was also of marble, was massive.

I then proceeded to the arsenal. Here was collected a great variety of ancient and modern arms. The whole had been arranged by Prince Lichtenstein. The coats of mail worn by all the kings of Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary; guns, sabres, pistols, trophies taken from the Turks, Swedes, Spaniards, and French. The bonnet of Godfrey of Boulogne, the coat and dress of Prince Eugene, and the chamois coat of Gustavus Adolphus were seen. In one of the halls was the Austrian Eagle, of great size, formed of the blades of sabres; in another, the arms of Bohemia. Around the courtyard of the building was a vast collection of cannon, mortars, &c., taken from different nations. On the wall was suspended an iron chain which the Turks placed across the Danube to intercept the navigation, and which was used for the same purpose by Bonaparte without success. The Archduke Charles had heavy barges constructed, which he caused to be floated down the river, and which broke it in pieces. In viewing this assemblage of weapons for the destruction of human beings,

I could not help thinking of my countrymen Howard and Jenner, and their philanthropic labours.

In the evening I accompanied Count Woronzow to dinner at M. Tatischeff's, the Russian Ambassador. There were present Prince Metternich, Sir H. Wellesley, and others attached to the Russian, Austrian, and English Courts. I was introduced to Prince Metternich as an English physician, and was delighted with his affability and politeness. After dinner he came up to me, and said, "I will obtain for you admission into the Josephine Academy, and I hope you will dine with me to-morrow." I accepted the invitation. During dinner he did not talk much. He stated the fact that many of the words in the different European languages were derived from the Persian, and gave some examples where this was the case in regard to the German. Numbers of people came in after dinner, none of whom I knew.*

* At Vienna, on my way to St. Petersburg, I left with the porter of the English Embassy a letter of introduction to Lady Georgiana Wellesley, wife of the English Ambassador, for a friend in England. On this occasion I was invited to dinner, but being on the point of setting out for Russia I could not accept of the invitation, and sent a written excuse. On my return from Russia in 1826, through Vienna, two years after, meeting her ladyship at dinner at the Russian Ambassador's, she expressed her as-

5th. Friday.—I visited this morning the Imperial Library. There were 800 volumes of prints, 13,000 volumes of manuscripts. A part of the library had belonged to Prince Eugene. The paintings on the ceilings were the work of Daniel Gran. The sciences and arts were represented, and Mount Olympus on the highest part. This was 92 feet in height, and 246 in length. The plan of the library was given by Fisher of Erlach. In a room adjoining the library were preserved the different manuscripts. Upon a plate of copper was an edict published at Rome 186 years before Christ, by which the celebration of the rites of Bacchus were prohibited except in private families. Here also we saw the poem of *Tasso's Jerusalemme Conquestata* in his own handwriting. There was a manuscript about the beginning of the eighth century in the Lombard characters, relating to a grant of land in the neighbourhood of Ravenna, which was first decyphered by

tonishment that I was not the Dr. Lee who had accepted her invitation in 1824, and had actually personated me at the Ambassador's table. Her ladyship thought, on that occasion, that there was some most unaccountable mistake, as the impostor was wholly ignorant of the friend who had given me the letter of introduction to her ladyship. My letter, declining the invitation, was left at my hotel, and I have never ceased to believe that this was the work of the police, my passport being signed by Mr. Canning, at that time most obnoxious to the Austrian and Russian courts.

Mabillon. It was on a piece of papyrus, and was the only MS. existing in this character.

After the library we visited Prince Esterhazy's Gallery; in which collection were two paintings by Salvator Rosa, two by Titian, a large and very beautiful picture by Rembrandt representing Christ before the judgment seat of Pilate; several by Cuyp; a few by Vandyke; some by Rubens; and several by Murillo and Velasquez.

At 5 I went to dine with the Prince Metternich. His house adjoining the Palace was richly furnished. There were present the English, French, and Russian Ambassadors, the Count and Countess Woronzow, Lady Georgiana Wellesley, and a number of other persons of distinction, about twenty in all. The liveries of the servants extremely rich. We were seated around a large circular table; I was placed on the left hand of Count Caraman, the French Ambassador. His Excellency made numerous enquiries respecting the Crimea and Odessa. He was acquainted, he said, through his intimate friend the Duke de Richelieu, with the corrupt condition of the civil administration of Russia, and expressed strongly his opinion that it was impossible that any improvement could take place in it while the Government did not take up the business. He agreed that

there was a spirit of a bad nature in the Russian army, a *malaise* which led every officer to think of conquest and plunder, no matter whether the cause was just or not. Slavery the Count characterized in a proper manner, and said the peasants of Russia were endowed with many good qualities, but that what was termed the nobility was a corrupted mass. The conspirators he characterized as *des miserables lâches*, and as destitute not only of principle, but of the smallest courage. M. de Caraman said that the Duke de Richelieu was affected in the deepest manner when he considered the demoralizing effect of the present system in Russia, and remarked that he had no doubt Count Woronzow would in time become equally disgusted with the corrupt practices which he was compelled to witness, as Governor-General, without being able to redress them. He agreed that religion had a great influence on the lower classes in Russia in keeping them in subordination, but that the higher classes were completely emancipated from its control, and from the influence in general of common morality. The gentleman on my left spoke much about the locusts, and of the great prosperity which Odessa would soon enjoy, if it were in fact a free port. The French Ambassador spoke of the Emperor Alexander, and inquired about the circumstances

accompanying his death. He told me that he was at Verona with His Majesty, and had walked about for hours with him alone in the country around. His Majesty, the Count informed me, was then afflicted with an unaccountable gloom and melancholy, and believed that he was destined to be miserable and unfortunate. He conceived that this feeling, with the horrible attack meditated on his life, reduced him to a state of utter despair, and rendered him anxious not to live, and induced him to refuse all help. Sir James Wylie had informed me in the Crimea that so great was the Emperor's dread of assassination by the Carbonari at Verona, that he durst not venture out into the streets until they had been inspected by guards sent out for that purpose, and that this dread even prevented his Majesty from going to Rome, which he had a great desire to visit.

After dinner Prince Metternich showed to the company assembled, the print which had just then appeared in which Napoleon is represented taking leave of his friends at Fontainbleau. The Prince read the names of the different individuals forming the group around Napoleon, and criticized the whole severely. He said it was a bad specimen of art, and that the portraits did not resemble the individuals meant to be repre-

sented. In a few minutes the Prince went out of the drawing-rooms, and brought me the order to see the Josephine Academy, and presented it in the most affable manner. He began to say that the institution had been remodelled and much improved. Count Woronzow directed the conversation to the subject of plague, and the Prince asked my opinion of its being contagious or not. I answered that I thought there could be no doubt of the fact of its being contagious, and that almost all the most respectable and enlightened physicians of England were of the same opinion. He asked the reason why plague did not exist in Persia. I stated that the Turks were not only fatalists, which the Persians were not, but that the climate of Persia was too hot for the contagion to exist, and this led to an account of some diseases, such as typhus, where the contagion is extinguished by heat. The Prince then spoke of the fever that was prevailing at the time in Holland, and asked what it was. I said it was probably the bilious remittent fever, the same as the fever in the Crimea, of which the Emperor Alexander had died, or the Walcheren fever, and not contagious. Respecting cholera and yellow fever the Prince also made some enquiries, and when I stated the evidence cautiously against their being contagious, he seemed pleased. He

then recommended me before quitting Vienna, to see the Veterinary College. The Prince then recurred once more to the subject of the plague, and said that a similar dispute had arisen among physicians here as in England, and that he had decided the question, by stating that he was not capable of determining whether it was contagious or not, but that if Austria abolished her quarantine laws, she would be put in a state of quarantine by all the other countries of Europe, and this led him to decide that no change should take place. In the dining-room when the entertainment was nearly over, an organ began to play some beautiful airs. Prince Metternich appeared much thinner in the countenance and person, than he has usually been represented in prints. His manner was calm and dignified, his voice soft and clear.

On the 7th of December, 1826, I set out for England, and arrived in London on the 6th of January, 1827.

THE END OF THE DIARY.

Conclusion.

It does not appear from the reports of those who have visited Russia since the year 1826, that any attempt has been made to improve the wretched condition of the slaves throughout the Russian Empire, nor to correct the abuses which then prevailed in every department of the Government. Since the suppression of the Bible Society, which was carried into effect while I was in St. Petersburgh, knowledge at every entrance has been excluded from the people. It is said that astronomy has been encouraged at Dorpat, and mineralogy at Moscow by two kisses imprinted upon the cheeks of an eminent English geologist.

The consumption of human life during the reign of the Emperor Nicholas has been enormous. He has carried on war with the Circassians uninterruptedly for twenty-eight years, at an annual cost of 20,000 lives on the Russian side alone, making a grand total of nearly 600,000 Russians who have perished in attempting to subdue the independence of Circassia.

In the two campaigns against Persia, as in the Hungarian campaign and the two Polish campaigns of 1831–32, there are not sufficient data to enable me to form a correct estimate of the Russian loss, which was however in the Persian and Polish wars enormous.

In the two campaigns against Turkey of 1828–29, 300,000 fell, of whom, however, 50,000 perished by the plague.

The loss of the Russians, in various ways, since the entry of the Danubian Principalities is understated at 30,000.

In these calculations it should be borne in mind that no estimate is attempted to be made of the sacrifice of human life on the side of those who fought for their liberties against the aggressions of Russia. If this calculation were attempted, it is probable that the result would prove that neither Julius Cæsar, nor Alexander, nor even Tamerlane, has been a greater scourge to the human race than the present Emperor Nicholas.

SAVILE ROW, *April* 22, 1854.

THE END.

Printed by Harrison and Sons, London Gazette Office, St. Martin's Lane.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY
BERKELEY

Return to desk from which borrowed.
This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

13 1
JAN 24 1948
21Oct'57MH
N STACKS
CT 7 1957

REC'D LD
OCT 23 1957
28Jan'58
JAN 14 1958
220ct58AB
REC'D LD
OCT 9 1958
12JAN'59D2
REC'D LD
DEC 23 1958
280ct'60LOF

IN STACKS
OCT 14 1960
DEC 28 1960
29Nov'63WR
REC'D LD
NOV 14'63-10 PM
FEB 18 1997

21-100m-9,'47(A5702s16)476

YB 55973
U. C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES
C047532336
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY